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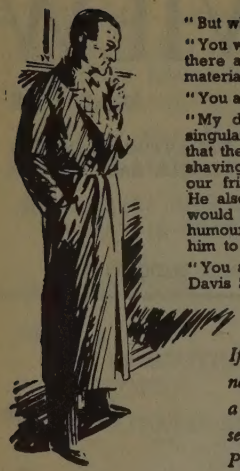

"But what made you so sure he was innocent?"

"You will remember that I examined our host's bathroom. I found there a purple tube of shaving cream and recently-used shaving materials. That decided the matter."

"You amaze me Holmes," said I, "Surely you are—"

"My dear Watson," interrupted Holmes impatiently, "You are singularly obtuse this morning. As you know I later discovered that the deed was committed just before breakfast—the time when shaving has put irritable men into a mood of violence. But I saw our friend was accustomed to use Parke-Davis Shaving Cream. He also had a good brush and keen razor blades. His shaving would therefore be a pleasure—he could not fail to be in a good humour before breakfast. In such a mood it was impossible for him to commit a crime."

"You are wonderful," I cried, "Your merits like those of Parke-Davis Shaving Cream should be publicly recognised."

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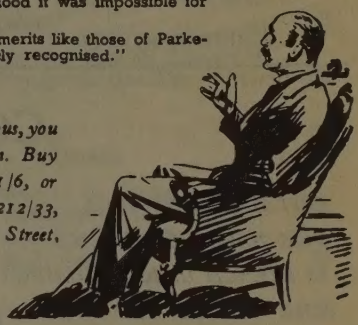

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WORLD REVIEW

Volume V. No. 1. *Incorporating* *'REVIEW OF REVIEWS' and 'WORLD'* *March,* 1938

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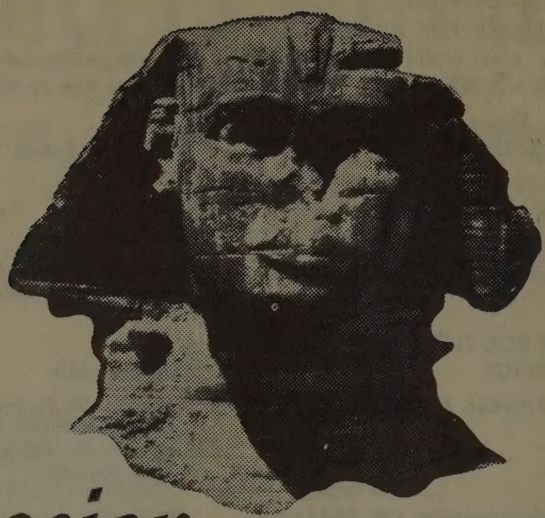

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WORLD REVIEW is the only English monthly review giving an extensive selection of articles from publications all over the world. These articles are chosen with great care, since WORLD REVIEW can only be valuable as its sponsors want it to be, if it avoids all political bias. *The Editor in his own article, and other signed contributors, express their opinions as frankly as they please.* Otherwise the Review would lack force and colour. But the ultimate object of WORLD REVIEW is to perform a useful and progressive service by allowing

THE NATIONS TO SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

Mr. Vernon Bartlett is on a tour of investigation in China, from which he will return by way of India. He will be writing special articles for WORLD REVIEW *from the East, the first of which will appear in our next issue. He was unable to write for this number—an unavoidable omission which we hope will be counterbalanced for his readers by the special interest of his next contributions*

BRITAIN KEEPS COOL

ENGLISHMEN have a great gift for negative pleasure : one of its chief sources lies in refusing to be drawn, or what the Frenchman would call an indulgence in traditional phlegm. The British Government take a particular delight in the phlegmatic. Consider, for instance, the German colonial claims ; when these were dramatically blazoned in Nazi speeches at the beginning of last year, there were hopes in Germany that the British Government would suffocate in a fit of conscience and hand back the Versailles spoils. A small, though influential group in England appropriately rose ; but responsible circles, believing that consciences should be either bilateral or stilled, remained unmoved. So with the latest changes in the German shop-window. The co-ordination of all the rival influences under the ægis of the Nazi party should have thoroughly put the wind up those who are withholding from Germany her alleged dues. Again the British Government refused to be taken in ; the influences might be fused in appearance, the channels through which Hitler receives

advice on foreign affairs reduced to one ; but in that channel itself the warring particles are many.

In the case of Italy, these tactics have less vague, if more limited aims. Witness Italian attempts to gain recruits for the Anti-Comintern Pact by suggesting that Britain, France and the League powers generally were backing communism in Spain. Or, again, take the publicity given recently by Italy to the Oslo group's desire to regularise their diplomatic status in Rome ; this was represented as a move to recognise the conquest of Abyssinia in the hope that Britain would be manoeuvred into proposing that step at the League. The taste for angling is also shared by the Japanese military and naval leaders ; but General Matsui's latest threat to take over the Chinese customs by force was received with almost Oriental blandness by the British authorities, and Admiral Suetsugu's tilt at the white races as the yellow man's burden provoked, instead of a sharp reply, only a sympathetic smile from the epicures of Whitehall. In short, false coins of diplomacy, such as these, receive no change from Britain.

Bargaining with Italy

The possibility of improving relations with Italy has come to the fore again. On both sides there is a belief that the bitter hatreds engendered by the Italo-Abyssinian war should not be allowed to rankle. On this point rumours of disagreement between Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Eden are without foundation ; at most they may have occasional differences of opinion over how best to avoid snubbing Italy and yet prevent her from crowing over an easy diplomatic success. In the view of the Foreign Office, Signor Mussolini has shown that Italy will only respect her given word in so far as it suits her. What then is the good of filling in the outlines of the Gentlemen's Agreement concluded last year when even that has been violated in the spirit? There are concessions which Italy is anxious to obtain ; the recognition of her Abyssinian conquest by Britain would enhance her prestige and lead others to follow suit ; an understanding that no new British naval base should be established in the Mediterranean and that the Suez Canal should always be open for the passage of her troops would strengthen her hand ; access to the London market would

help her in the arid task of developing Abyssinia. Italian policy has always aimed at extorting favours under a threat of changing sides. Although Germany has nothing to offer beyond moral support, she clings to Italy in order to wring concessions from the powers ; but German poverty and the conflict of aims between Italy and the Nazis make it advisable for her to seek a means of reinsurance. These are the factors that gave rise to her coquetry with Britain during the past year. The impulse has always come from the Italian side ; each advance has received a warm welcome from the British Government, followed by a pause to see what faith could be placed in Italian intentions. Signor Mussolini, meanwhile, has been reluctant to abandon his bargaining counters. Britain is at present chiefly interested in the Spanish war and the Mediterranean situation. In Whitehall's opinion, Italy, having once agreed to the withdrawal of volunteers, should see to it that they are withdrawn. The first attempt to open conversations last summer failed because piracy broke out in the Mediterranean ; Italian complicity was suspected and that is why, after the latest attacks, Signor Mussolini's readiness to fall in with the new British anti-piracy proposals met with such a cordial greeting. The original British objection to the grant of belligerent rights arose out of anxiety lest Italy should actively assist General Franco to blockade the Spanish coast ; this would have interfered with British shipping and, if Signor Mussolini used his vaunted power to make trade routes unsafe, with the best will in the world all hope of Anglo-Italian understanding would have been banned indefinitely.

Artificial Nuisances

In order to get what she wants from us, Italy has created a number of artificial nuisances. These are the Bari broadcasts, the anti-British propaganda in Arab countries, the threat of naval hostility, the dispatch of reinforcements to Libya, support for the German colonial claims, even the Berlin–Rome axis itself. None of these ventures corresponds to her real interests. She is a power with more than she can digest ; she needs peace and an opportunity to improve her strategic position. As she cannot by herself control the Mediterranean, she must be on good terms with the other naval powers represented in that area if her vast imports are to be protected. She has almost a quarter of a million men in arms overseas ; yet her

frontier guards are maintained at normal strength. That means that the country is undergoing the expense of a partial mobilisation. So long, therefore, as Italy insists on living dangerously, the feeling here is that she does not threaten us and we have no inducement to make her concrete offers in return for the mere abandonment of blackmail. Signor Mussolini has, it is true, engaged his prestige; no doubt the Spanish war is proving more inconclusive than he expected and he would like his men back; but, before he can withdraw them, he must be able to announce either that the Nationalists are sure to win or that there is no further danger of communism in Spain. But, in spite of his latest successes, General Franco is still haunted by the loss of Teruel, and for Signor Mussolini to declare Spain purged would need careful preparation. Besides he wants payment for good behaviour; Count Grandi, who was instructed to start bargaining with us, indicated that withdrawal should be part of a wider agreement. But withdrawal, though desirable in British eyes, is scarcely worth a concession; it would, after all, only pour back into Italy some of her squandered man-power; and her promise has already been given in the Non-Intervention Committee.

Is Mussolini A Realist?

Of course Britain would like to see Italy drop her nuisances; the Bari broadcasts are continual pin-pricks, and the danger of an Italian diversion in the Mediterranean immobilises a large part of our fleet there, which might profitably be sent to the Far East. But the Italians in Spain have made themselves so unpopular that a hypothetically victorious Franco is unlikely to welcome them as guests at the end of the war. Yet, before we believe the repeated Italian assurances of respect for the Mediterranean *status quo*, we should be glad to see the last Blackshirt leave Majorca. Still, it is for Italy to stop the nuisances herself if we are to have serious conversations. Any move in that direction on her part will help to swing British public opinion in her favour, for there is no wish here to prolong discord with a former ally. But the recognition of her Empire should only be part of a broader agreement, embracing a real change of heart in Italian policy.

One day Mussolini may realise that Italy, as a satiated power, has no common interest with Germany. Much has been made of

the ideological tie and the united front against communism ; but the communist menace is more important as a catchword than as a reality. Even so, the Anti-Comintern Pact has attracted little attention ; its underlying political significance has not escaped those pressed to join, and only Japan has responded whole-heartedly. As far as ideology goes, the real enemies of the dictatorships are those states which tolerate such indecencies as free speech and the liberty of the press ; everything must be done to belittle these doctrines lest they infect the dictator's serfs and cause them to question their obedience ; for the controlled fascist press to revile England is the expression of legitimate criticism ; but, if a reply appears in a British newspaper, it is an example of how democratic licence disturbs international relations.

This hostile tendency cannot be discounted, but is it sufficient

THE HERO

"Who's that?" "Why, he's going all alone Broadcasting House to combat the Italian transmission from Bari."

"Il Travaso delle Idee," Roma

to knit Germany and Italy for long? Italy's constant suspicions of the German attitude towards Austria have already been justified and, although at the recent meeting of the Rome Protocol powers Count Ciano gave Dr. Schuschnigg fresh assurances of support, Signor Mussolini has already found himself too weak to give them effect. The dictionary defines an axis as an imaginary line; the Berlin-Rome example is correspondingly tenuous; it was not meant to bear strains, but to terrify the world by its scarecrow appearance. If Signor Mussolini were to drop it publicly and to associate himself with the Western powers, his stability would thereafter be assured by the richest and strongest nations on earth. By using his influence as mediator between them and Germany, he might bring about that long-term pacification which alone can restore his country's prosperity. The British Government are ready to stretch out their hands towards him; to an Italy prepared to play a part consonant with her much-advertised greatness we would say bygones are bygones; but it remains to be seen which lies closer to the great realist's heart, the illusion of pride or the substance of profit. In any case the auction proceeds in a market of falling values; we can afford to wait.

Germany and Guarantees

Negotiations with Germany are likely to hang fire until the new Cabinet Council on Foreign Affairs has settled down. So many shades of opinion are represented in it that Herr Hitler will himself have to give the casting vote. The general impression after Lord Halifax's visit to Germany was that no basis for a settlement existed. France and Britain cannot consider meeting the German colonial claims without receiving guarantees to ensure peace in return. The German willingness to conclude bilateral pacts is not enough; there is too little to show that Herr Hitler would not tear them up whenever he found them in conflict with the German sense of honour. Such pacts are simpler to denounce than collective agreements; but these Germany has consistently avoided on the grounds that they inevitably extend a quarrel to countries not directly involved.

One section of opinion in Germany, notably that held by Dr. Goebbels, believes that talks with Britain are inopportune, as time is on the German side. Moral indignation at the fate of the German

colonies will, it is said, sweep like an avalanche across the world and end by knocking us off our perch ; in the meantime, advantage can be taken of any weakness shown by Austria or Czechoslovakia, and the raising of the Anti-Comintern standard puts Germany at the head of a crusade.

Arms Truce The Test

From the British point of view, almost any agreement that effectively closed the jaws of the European hungry wolf would be welcome. But, so far, German claims have been like the ridges that precede a mountain-top, without visible end. The only acceptable guarantee that would make Herr Hitler's desire for peace seem real is an arms truce. Germany cannot equip an expedition to retake her former colonies ; her claim in that field, and the threat implied in the artificial creation of anti-British feeling, should not influence us. The period of the Sybilline books is over ; day by day Germany becomes more impoverished and her citizens less contented. As for the progressive nazification of Austria, no offer of ours will stop it now. Although a direct pounce on Czechoslovakia is out of the question until the army has regained efficiency under its new General Staff, Herr Hitler's settled intention to come to terms over the Sudeten-Germans cannot easily be foiled. But to Britain and France no fresh turn of the screw can be applied.

The Western Powers Preparing Terms

To fear Germany is to play into her hands ; instead, the Western powers are gradually drawing up the terms of a settlement to be presented to her in due course. If she rejects it as an unworthy bargain, we shall express friendly regret, but not count ourselves the only losers. German good or bad will is turned on from the dictatorial tap ; it is too fickle to be worth courting for its own sake. The progress in our rearmament makes it increasingly easier for us to avoid unsound offers ; yet what sacrifices, if they led to the political and economic appeasement of Europe, would appear too great ?

THE NAVAL ARMAMENT RACE

Who can hold his breath longest?

"Haagsche Courant"
The Hague

ITALY'S FLEET PROBLEM

The Empty Stocking

Dowe, "Haagsche Post," The Hague

THE OPEN FORUM

IS FRENCH UNION COMING?
Foreign Situation Causes Alarm

by JACQUES KAYSER

In this section we publish, without necessarily sharing the views they express, articles by men of international fame. Here we have an explanation of the present situation of French internal politics by the Vice-President of the French Radical Party

THE political situation in France may be characterised by the fact that most politicians, whatever their party, are striving to find a way to prevent a final division of the country into two *blocs*.

For many years French politics seems to have been playing on a piano with only two notes: the Right and the Left. There have been Right governments and majorities, which, under different names and with different heads, have fought against the Left. On the other hand, Left governments and majorities have been constituted and have acted in reaction to the Right.

On several occasions it might have been thought that this division of France into two parties might lead to civil war. And yet, even at the most critical times, during the days following the February 6, 1934, or the agony of Doumergue's and Laval's governments, or the strikes of June, 1936, domestic peace was never disturbed. The French have proved that they are not inclined to fight among themselves.

The elections of 1936 marked the triumph of the Left. The Popular Front took office, the Communists became a majority party. The parties of the Centre and the Right tried to overthrow the government of the Popular Front and to break up the majority, the Centre by legal means, certain of the Right by terrorist agitation, the criminal gravity of which was proved by the unsuccessful conspiracy of the C.S.A.R ("Cagoulards").

But we have witnessed a new phenomenon in French political and parliamentary life—men on both sides have realised that it might be necessary to extend bridges and that if it were true that Frenchmen did not want to fight each other it might not be impossible to lead them to collaborate.

This is the explanation of the fact that during the ministerial crisis in January, M. Léon Blum was able to use the daring slogan : "A National Front Round the Popular Front" and to offer a share in the government simultaneously to Maurice Thorez, the Communist leader, and to Paul Reynaud, the most intelligent and courageous of the Opposition leaders.

If Léon Blum's attempt failed it was because, in the first place, it was not yet familiar to politicians, most of whom received it as an innovation that might be fruitful, but which was psychologically premature ; and, in the second place, because Paul Reynaud insisted that the offer of participation should be extended even further to the Right than himself, i.e. that the Socialist chief should take into his government a representative of the real Right. Paul Reynaud wanted the formula of "A National Front Round the Popular Front" to be transformed into the formula "National Unanimity."

It is important to point out that, contrary to what happened in 1926 and in 1934 (the formation of National Union governments directed against the extreme Left), no one hopes to revert to such solutions. It is admitted that it is not healthy to govern against the working class, against a third of the nation. And M. Paul Reynaud, the prototype of the anti-Marxist liberal bourgeois, has repeated, during a lecture campaign, that the interests of France demand the retention of the proletarian parties in the majority.

Where the Difficulties Lie

To what extent does what we have just said, which expresses the truth of the parliamentary situation and the feelings of the leaders, correspond to the deepest beliefs of the country and the electorate ?

Is what is possible on the parliamentary plane, by dint of accurately putting together the political jig-saw puzzle, possible, for example, on the economic and social plane? Here we have the snag.

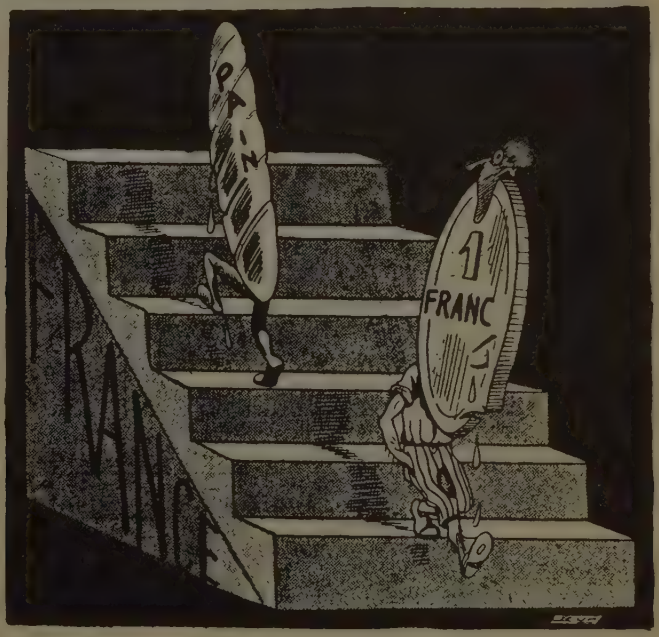
The average Frenchman is *a politician*, and for him politics is as much a struggle between persons as between ideas. He was

disconcerted to see a Socialist, "purest of the pure," soliciting the aid of a declared adversary. As for the worker, he asks himself whether the collaboration of elements which have always acted as the mouthpiece for voicing employers' demands will not lead to backslidings for which he will have to pay. In fact, it is the whole problem of collaboration between Capital and Labour which is involved. The revolutionaries must naturally revolt against collaboration between the working class and the Right Centre. One should, under these circumstances, be able to answer the question: is the French working class revolutionary?

Led by Marceau Pivert, who has taken up the fight against Léon Blum, one part of the Socialist Party certainly is revolutionary both in doctrine and in tactics. The other part is merely reformist.

The Communists, if revolutionary in doctrine, have shown themselves reformist in tactics since the elections of 1936. It is one of their chiefs who invented the slogan : " Everything is not possible " ; it was another of their leaders who circulated the anti-demagogic command in the factories : " We must know how to end a strike " ; it was their Congress which approved the initiative taken by its leaders

IN THE LAND OF THE POPULAR FRONT



Bread goes up and the franc goes down

"Je Suis Partout," Paris

of considering large-scale collaboration under the sign of the "Outstretched Hand." But it is evident that these tactics can only be maintained if they bring substantial advantages to the working class. It is, therefore, not made easier by the steady rise in the cost of living, nor by the retrograde attitude of some employers, who are trying, by indirect methods and individual action, to regain some of the advantages accorded to the working class by the social laws of the summer of 1936.

Hence the considerable importance of the new Statute of Labour. If it is able to regulate relations between employers and workers, if it gives the latter recognised guarantees as to both engagement and dismissal, if, by a new regulation of the right to strike, it allows the workers to assert their rights under present conditions, it is likely that the reformist movement will prevail.

The Foreign Menace

Why this wisdom on the part of leaders, why this relative understanding on the part of masses, why this parliamentary effort for a re-grouping against which all French political traditions revolt? Because the gravity of external events has at last been recognised in France, because the country believes in liberty, and feels the growing menace of foreign Fascism, because the country loves peace and feels that aggression and blackmail by the totalitarian States is increasing in a terrifying manner.

"Since in the event of war," they say, "we would instantly form a Holy Union; since it would mean, as in August, 1914, a reconciliation of all Frenchmen for the defence of the Nation, why wait for war to break out in order to unite? Since everything seems to indicate that disunion encourages war-mongers and gives them false hopes of easy victory, would not the union of the French beforehand discourage aggressors, and might it not, therefore, be the means of saving peace?"

It is foreign affairs, therefore, which dominate French politics at the present moment. If immense new alignments are being planned and if they are finally ratified, it is above all because the international situation is considered serious.

Does that mean that all parties have the same foreign policy? No. But they are willing to recognise that for France to pursue an active diplomacy, in whatever direction it may be used, French strength and unity must be felt in other countries. It is more and more understood, both in Paris and in the provinces, that a divided,

weakened France, ravaged by frequent social, financial and economic crises, would find it impossible to make her voice heard in the Concert of Nations, and even less to make it obeyed.

Concessions from All

The partisans of energetic action to bar the route to the totalitarian states, as well as those who favour reconciliation with Germany, would be obliged to make big concessions, and so would those who hope for moderate action and a balance a long way from either provocation or capitulation; they all realise the necessity for a broadening of the old political formulas.

The first tendency is the most popular. It corresponds with the instincts of the people. It is not specifically nationalistic because it does not aim at the exaltation of the nation but at the defence of its rights. The second tendency is that of some groups of the Right and of individuals who are mostly without responsibilities. It is popular, too, in the sense the Franco-German reconciliation is popular, but reconciliation paid for by concessions without counterparts, which might be in vain, is not wanted. The third tendency is that of responsible men. It excludes passion. It is pure reason. It finds few followers among the masses when they are gathered together. On the other hand, it is well received by the average Frenchman taken alone. It is the principle which was put into practice by the three governments of the Popular Front and which expressed itself in a will towards concerted action by the three great democracies, loyalty to the League of Nations, co-operation between all powers that want peace whatever their internal régime, and the desire to appease existing antagonisms.

It seems hard to think that any French government could ever wander far from these general aims, and the broader its composition, the more extensive its majority, the more the country will show its confidence by its calm and industry, and the more its efforts towards international understanding and the organisation of peace will have a chance to prove themselves effective.

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BEAUTIFUL THOUGHT

Mussolini has taught Italian militiamen the goose step preparatory to Hitler's state visit in May. Historians will have to admit it was a beautiful friendship while it lasted.—*St. Louis "Post Despatch," U.S.A.*

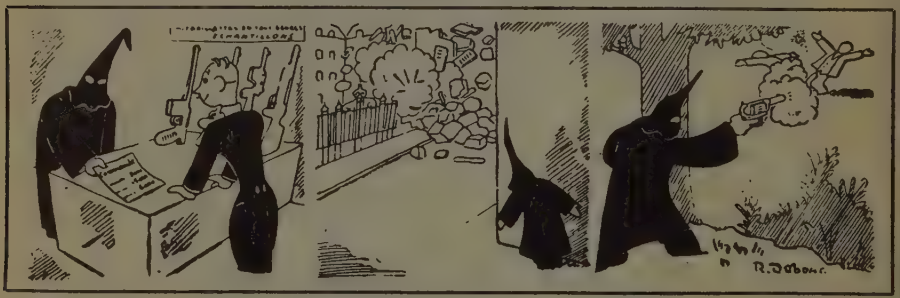
THE "CAGOULARDS" (HOODED MEN) PLOT

"All the ladies are knitting nice warm hoods for our brave little terrorists."

"Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris

THE CAGOULARD MINISTRY—AS IT WOULD BE

Minister of Health . . . of Foreign Affairs . . . of Finance . . .



of Commerce . . . of Public Works . . . of Justice . . . *"L'Humanité," Paris*

THE LION ROARS

Endymion, bombed and sunk, Jan. 31:
Alcira, bombed and sunk, Feb. 4:

General Franco's a sahib we know,
He gave us the Calpe Hunt
Where our Army johnnies can ride to hounds
In sight of the Spanish battlegrounds.
But when Franco's bombers get out of bounds
Our language is pretty blunt.

General Franco safeguards our trade,
He's the friend to British firms.
Back in Bilbao our fleet stood by,
But if his pirates again let fly
The British Government will reply
In no uncertain terms.

He had rotten bad luck at Teruel,
Though he's got the scrap in hand—
But our Government's not afraid to state
The sinking of British ships and freight
Is something we will not tolerate
And are not prepared to stand.

The Nyon Patrol is wide awake
Round Spain's blockaded shore,
And if merchant vessels are seen attacked
It will rank as a most unfriendly act,
And General Franco will know in fact
Just what he is asking for.

General Franco's a sahib right through
And the great white hope of Spain;
But we warn him here, if he won't play ball,
Our Tokyo Note he had best recall—
And he'd better not do it again, that's all,
He'd better not do it again.

REYNARD.

HITLER'S PURGE
Its Background and Meaning

From a Correspondent

A new stage in the forward march of Nazi Germany was marked by Herr Hitler's purge. Here a correspondent who knows the country well traces the course of developments, and forecasts more surprises for the future. This prophecy has already been borne out by Austria's surrender on February 15th to the Nazi ultimatum

IT is a pathetic world that clings to Prussian Army chiefs as a bulwark of peace. The chorus of lamentation which rose when the old guard, against whom we went to war in 1914, were swept away in Hitler's purge of February 4th, would not have been amiss had Mr. Aldous Huxley, Sir Norman Angell and Mr. George Lansbury been removed from control of German policy. This curious phenomenon is, however, a measure of the fear which grips the nations, and of the importance of the developments in Germany—developments so significant that it is worth while tracing the causes which made them inevitable.

To go back to 1918—when the Kaiser's army, with its strength sapped by starvation and communist influence at home, came home in disintegration, it turned on its officers ; and they, with few exceptions, offered small resistance. Their marks of rank torn by their men from their uniforms, attacked by angry mobs in the streets, they retreated to their country estates, leaving their War Lord to flee to Holland. It was the downfall of a too rigid caste. In spite of their military virtues, to which Germany owed whatever unity it possessed, they failed through being divorced from the people. For them, the nation consisted of officers and gentlemen (synonymous terms) and *Schweine*, with an almost equally to be despised bourgeoisie between.

Curiously enough, it was not the old Army officer caste which saved Germany from a Soviet rule in the savage days of communist revolution, but the much-reviled Socialists. That the black-red-gold flag of the republicans waved throughout the Reich, and not the red flag of Moscow, was due to the Socialists. This did not save them, however, from being hated by the retired officers during the years following. They and all the unfortunate politicians of the Weimar

Republic had to suffer for their inability to secure any lightening of the cruel burden of Versailles. Had the slightest generosity been forthcoming from France and Britain, they might, we now see, have been saved. As it is, they are the scapegoats, against whose weakness the strength of Hitler appears to the German people all the more admirable.

THE MEN WHO SAW WAR
Herr Hitler greets German Ex-Servicemen

When it was a question of saving the country from the misery and chaos of the slump years, during which six million unemployed roved the streets and disunion reached its climax, again it was not the ranks of the old Army which produced either leaders or a policy. But though themselves barren of constructive ideas, they were able to recognise in Hitler and his movement a force which would regain for the Fatherland its rightful place among the Powers. Hitler meant the re-establishment of an army, and, they thought, *their* Army. The fact that he and his men were propounding what seemed to the nobility a lot of socialist nonsense about *Volksgemeinschaft*, a classless community, and laughable stuff about Nordics (useful though against the Jews), could be overlooked for the time being. He probably did not mean it, and, anyway, it secured the support of the people in carrying out a rearmament scheme which had at first to be kept secret. Of course, upstarts like that house-painter fellow could not really *run* the country, and its rightful rulers would very soon step in and take over. In the meantime their places would be nicely warmed for them.

Disillusionment in these ranks, and with it, increasingly bitter opposition, have been growing from the day the Nazis assumed control. Far from being wafted into the seats of the mighty, scarcely one of the nobility has found a place among the leaders of National Socialist Germany. Furthermore, those absurd ideas of a classless society of blood brothers were actually being inculcated, in season and out, among the young men who were to form the new Army. In labour camps, and all Nazi formations, they were being taught that the old nobility had failed ; a new nobility from " blood and soil " must arise ; leadership was the reward of character, not of class. Himmler's Nazi *élite*, the S.S., was even, it was proposed, to be incorporated as a leaven in the Army ranks. Resistance to this " Brown Bolshevism " was strong inside the forces.

Not only were the new masters of Germany undermining *their* status, the old guard saw, but that of another pillar of the pre-Nazi Reich—the Church. An age-old alliance was being broken up by a band of ignorant neo-pagans. For "God and the Fatherland" German soldiers had always bravely laid down their lives; was the Fatherland alone enough? General von Fritsch and his colleagues feared not.

Ideas on War

The Nazis had certainly created an immense and powerful Army, and subordinated all industry to its needs. For this the chiefs were duly grateful. But for what purpose would they use it ? Would their foreign policy lead to its destruction ? On one point Army and Nazi leaders are united—on the determination to start no war which cannot be won by Germany, and won quickly. But about the way to avoid a hopeless war, or to bring about conditions for a successful one, there is good reason to believe they were divided.

It is common knowledge that General von Fritsch and his friends advised against Hitler's march into the Rhineland. The *Führer* ignored their advice and proved them wrong. On the grounds that Russia's geographical position makes her invincible, the Army chiefs disliked the policy of enmity towards the Soviet Union. They counselled against drastic action in Spain or Austria. It is, at least, logical to suppose that, with their removal, their policy is also thrown overboard.

From the Nazi point of view, the purge was essential. The whole National Socialist teaching is based on the fundamental importance

of removing the disunion which has been the country's curse throughout history. Hitler will not rest until he feels that every man, woman and child is so " conditioned " that the National Socialist outlook on every aspect of life is a part of his very being. An ordinary political party would have been more than content with a very substantial majority—not so the religious movement led by Hitler. With the zeal of a fanatic he is attempting to compress into a few years the long centuries which it took even our own island race to evolve a species of unity. The trend in Germany during the last year, and the present purge, has shown how too much forcing of the pace is defeating Nazi purpose. The *Führer* does not, like Stalin, rule over an only recently, and still only partially literate nation, with no tradition of free thought, and so remote that it can be rendered intellectually autarchic. The Germany of the philosophers and scientists, the land where the Reformation began, still exists, and will scarcely be completely transformed while the older generation lives. Always ineffectual politically, this opposition can, however, be rendered helpless.

It was evident six months ago that opposition had become so widespread and vocal that the time was not far off when action would be taken against it. That this action has not taken the form of a fresh " Reibluwo " (=" Reichsblutwoche "=Reich Blood Week) as the days round June 30th, 1934, are called by the local unregenerates, indicates, we may hope, that the ruthlessness with which Hitler executed Party traitors and his followers murdered private enemies, belonged to the early period of a revolution. But, milder though his methods have been this time, Hitler the man remains the same. The swift energy with which he used to rally an often uncertain party behind him in the early days of his career, is still his. It is the basis of his success as a leader of a people which, without being servile, loves a strong man capable of bringing order and security into their daily working lives.

Shocks to Come

At the time this is being written, the purge has only begun, with generals and a few ambassadors as victims ; but its extension is certain, particularly into the field of industry, where recalcitrant capitalists groan against the terrific pressure and iron control exerted by the shapers of the Four-Year Plan. This action, when it comes,

may legitimately be said to belong to the sphere of German internal affairs, with which other countries have no right to concern themselves. Hitler's purges in the diplomatic and Army spheres, however, indicate a new development in foreign policy, which must be the world's concern. In the diplomatic ranks, as in the Army, the old guard has been shelved, and from now on a purely Nazi foreign policy will be followed. Does this mean war? Would a ruler passionately imbued with care for the welfare of his people, whose favourite occupation is planning vast schemes for the rebuilding and beautifying of their cities, wantonly lead them into a war, the end of which he himself has often said would be chaos? Surely not. On the other hand, the same ruler's policy is to unite all Germans by race in the Greater Reich, beginning with Austria, continuing with the Sudeten Germans in Czechoslovakia, and ending no one knows where. And, lastly, this ruler is convinced of the efficacy of swift, unheralded action—*l'audace, toujours l'audace.* If the era of surprises is really over, as Hitler some time ago announced, it will be the biggest surprise of all.

GOD-LIKE LOVE

We have already mentioned a little about the kind deeds shown by Japanese soldiers towards the enemy troops in the present clash with China. The god-like love of the Japanese soldiers is sometimes extended even to animals.

The battle of Lotienchen was very severe. Many of our brave and loyal soldiers fell in the thick rain of bullets from the hostile machine-guns, and a greater number of them were wounded more or less severely. Among the others, a small unit, which was fighting in the most advanced position, suffered a heavy loss. At last they found it difficult to maintain their position unless reinforced immediately. The rain of hostile bullets, however, was so thick that there was no sending of a man on liaison duty. They thought of the only military dog attached to the unit, which they decided to send on the important errand. The private who was in charge of the dog knew how dangerous it was to send it back to the position of the main force in the thick rain of bullets. He would have taken the place of his beloved dog, if permitted. He took out from his pocket a holy charm, which his mother had given him when he left for the war-zone, and fastened it to the dog's neck, and bade it go. The dog reached its destination in safety. But, when it returned to the salient post, his keeper was no longer awaiting him. He had been killed.—"*Cultural Nippon,*" *Tokyo.*

RAW MATERIAL

A man came to a Berlin fancy-dress ball in the costume of Adam. The prize-giving committee had him thrown out. Reason: he said he had come as the German Raw Material Problem.—*Nebelspalter, Rohrschach.*

FOREIGN BODIES

by FLOODLIGHT

All the world likes to read gossip about other people. The little human eccentricities that lurk behind the imposing figures officially presented to the world are seldom known. These personal notes aim at giving flesh and blood to the men whose names appear so often in our political articles

Ambassadorial Turn-Out

"SHIRT-SLEEVE diplomacy," in contrast to the wiliness of frock-coated Europeans, has long been upheld in the United States as the ideal method of conducting foreign affairs. Mr. Joseph P. Kennedy, the new American ambassador at the Court of St. James's, really does prefer to work with his coat off. Unlike his predecessor, Mr. Bingham, he will not wear knee-breeches at Court, or " diplomatic bloomers " as they are termed in America. " Not on your life. Not Mrs. Kennedy's boy " was how he expressed his opinion on the subject.

Business or Baseball ?

Sprung from a family of East Boston Irish, " Joe " Kennedy is sandy-haired, expansive, racy and hot-tempered. Although his father was a state senator at the age of 32, the family fortunes were never very stable and at one time young Joe sold newspapers and candy on excursion steamers. When things began to look up, he was sent to Boston Latin School, where, besides becoming head boy, he led the baseball, basket-ball and football teams. His talent for money-making developed as soon as he reached Harvard: in three summers he netted £1,000 by running a sight-seeing bus to Lexington. When he left " college " it was a toss-up whether he should go into business or become a baseball professional ; some admirers of his physique think he chose wrong.

The Youngest Bank President

Mr. Kennedy's first job was as a bank examiner at a salary of £25 a month. Somehow or other he borrowed enough money to buy an interest in a small Boston bank, the Columbia Trust, and at the age of 25, was elected President, the youngest of the kind in the United States. On the strength of another loan, he married the Mayor of Boston's daughter, Miss Rose Fitzgerald, who had won the

gold medal for piano playing at her school in Aix-la-Chapelle. Mr. Kennedy's method of paying off his debts was to buy a chain of cinemas; the venture was highly profitable and gave him the idea for future plunges in the film world.

But, for the moment, the manipulation of stocks gripped him. Shaking markets in every direction, he made profits where he could and took some tumbles. " If you have enough inside information," he once said, " and enough credit, you are sure to go broke."

Film Finance

Mr. Kennedy is a rolling stone who gathers moss. As special adviser to one film company after another, he learnt all about the bitter feuds of Hollywood producers; few diplomats can rival the tact with which he induced Lasky, Loew, Fox, Zukor and de Mille to co-operate in giving a series of lectures at the Harvard Business School. Among his own productions were two films starring Gloria Swanson. His first effort was unlucky. When the film was nearly ready, he was called down about a hitch in the story. He found Erich von Stroheim's treatment highly artistic, but the subject too indelicate for his name to be connected with it. Stopping production cost him nearly £200,000. But his second effort turned out well and, on balance, Hollywood is said to have credited Mr. Kennedy with £1,000,000 and debited him with two-and-a-half stone.

Poacher Turned Gamekeeper

In appointing Mr. Kennedy to the Securities Exchange Commission in 1934, President Roosevelt was acting on the poacher-turned-gamekeeper principle. All the earnest New Dealers were shocked. However, to please the President, the other members of the Commission elected Mr. Kennedy Chairman. The new Chairman soon found the atmosphere oppressive; with characteristic bluntness he decided on a frontal attack, and, meeting the other Commissioners at lunch one day, asked point blank, " Why the hell do you fellows hate me? "

Actually he proved a great success and in a little over a year had the market so tied up that even the biggest sharks were left flapping. His next job was to readjust Government relations with the U.S. Merchant Marine; in 73 days he reduced the claims of 23 shipping companies on ocean mail contracts from £1,480,000 to

£170,000. It seems a pity that he was never a British negotiator on the War Debt question.

Happy Family

Behind his restless vitality and pungent speech, Mr. Kennedy hides a rather dry, precise mind. For all his athletic frame and daily rides at seven in the morning, his eyes look tired when he takes off his spectacles. Whenever he can, he likes getting away to Marwood, his Potomac estate, where he sits on the porch, entertaining friends and listening to Beethoven on the gramophone. He complains sometimes that his work separates him from his family; but, as one of the shipowners said whose claims he had reduced, it's like a surgeon complaining while he amputates your leg.

Blue-eyed, black-haired Mrs. Kennedy has her hands full looking after the nine Kennedy children. She neither drinks nor smokes and herself attends to the family shopping. Capable of holding her own on most political topics, she is well-read and speaks fluent French and German. American opinion feels that the Kennedy family should make a great hit in England, especially with Queen Mary and the Archbishop of Canterbury. We hope so too!

Private Schmidt and the Party

Shortly before the June "bloodbath" in 1934, the then German Reichswehr Minister, General Werner von Blomberg, published an article in which he defined the position of the army in the Third Reich. "The army," he wrote, "has been merged in the State. It serves the State, which it supports from innermost conviction, and stands behind the State's leaders . . ." That being so, Hitler felt he could go ahead with the purge.

About the same time, a passer-by who overheard the drilling of some recruits on a barrack-square in Berlin received a rather different impression of the relations between army and party. A sergeant-major was putting one of the newcomers through his paces.

"Stand easy! Who are you?" he asked.

"I am not a Chief-Storm-Detachment-Leader—I am Private Schmidt" came the reply.

"Good. Stand at ease. Who are *you*?"

"I am not a Chief-Storm-Detachment-Leader—I am Private Schmidt."

"Good. 'Shun!" And so on. Question and answer were repeated between each order until no doubt could rest in the recruit's mind about the superiority of a Regular Private to a Nazi panjandrum. Now things have come to a head, and it looks as if Hitler had thought it time for Blomberg's words to come true.

Back to Berlin

The new German Foreign Minister, Herr Joachim von Ribbentrop, made his rare presence felt during his short-lived tenancy of the Embassy in Carlton House Terrace. Believing himself to be the sort of German English people like, he could never get over his obvious unpopularity here ; that his own tactlessness might be the cause seemed unbelievable.

Born at Wesel, the son of a lieutenant-colonel, Herr von Ribbentrop comes of a military family and one of his ancestors was a close friend of the great Blücher. After several years of study in Grenoble and London, the young Rhinelander left for Canada as agent for a business firm. Shortly afterwards, the war broke out ; Herr von Ribbentrop slipped back into Germany and joined the cavalry as an ensign. After serving on the western front, he was sent as adjutant to the German War Office observer in Turkey. The end of the war found him still in uniform and he was attached to the German delegation at the Versailles peace conference.

Political Host

Herr von Ribbentrop had a real stroke of luck when he married the attractive daughter of the great German champagne manufacturer, Henkel. As a wine agent, he became well acquainted with the English colony in Berlin, who appreciated his good English and pleasant, unassuming manner ; he did not then feel it necessary to carry about with him the whole outraged dignity of Germany. In 1930 he began taking an interest in the struggling Nazi party and became acquainted with its leaders. Being in easy circumstances, he was able to act as their host, and his tastefully decorated villa in the fashionable Berlin suburb of Dahlem became the scene of many important meetings.

"This Young Fellow"

At that time, Hitler badly needed someone to put him in touch with those party leaders who lived in a different social world. It was in Dahlem

that Hitler met von Papen, Hugenberg, the Nationalist chief, and Otto Meissner, Hindenburg's wire-pulling secretary, the day before he was first invited to take over the Government. Herr von Ribbentrop's ambitions already lay in the direction of foreign affairs, but they were checked by Hindenburg, who referred to him slightingly as *dieser Junge* (this young fellow). His insistence on German rearmament, however, brought him the post of Special Commissioner for Rearmament Questions. Later he became Ambassador-at-Large, and his ensuing rise shows that, although many prominent Nazis dislike him, he has always had Hitler's ear. This is not surprising, as his advice has generally proved correct; it has been his business, with the aid of his privately organised information bureau, to find out just how much other countries would stand : Hitler then goes to the limit indicated and gets away with it.

Good-looking, middle-sized, thick-set, Herr von Ribbentrop has a certain shrewdness; without the sparkle of a typical Rhinelander, he is genial and kindly in private life, and might easily pass for a well-to-do banker.

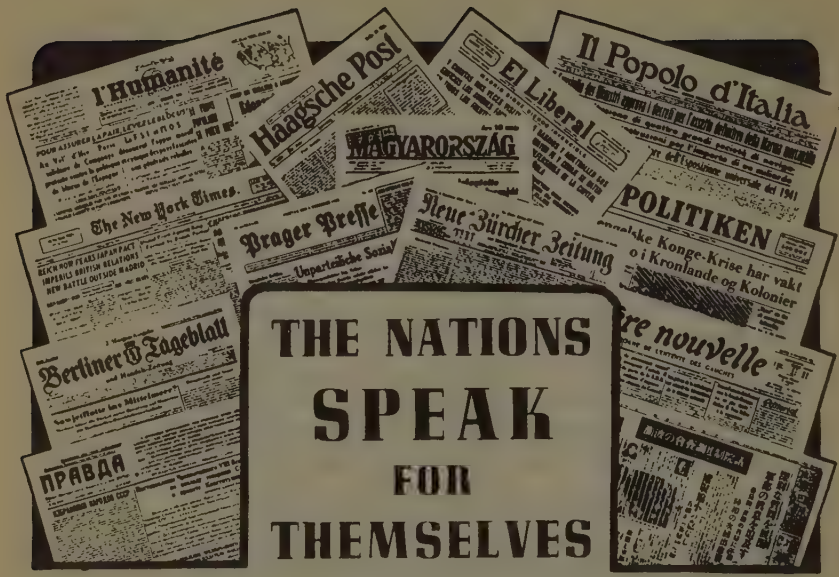
LUCID

"The surtax on any amount of surtax net income not shown in the table is computed by adding to the surtax for the largest amount shown which is less than the income, the surtax upon the excess over the amount at the rate indicated in the table."—Instruction on income tax blank. We contend that the government should supply a slide rule, prayer book and ouija board with each income tax return form.—*Washington Post.*

IN EIRE

Garda Rafferty makes a last desperate effort to locate poteen still at Ballyweldun.

"*Dublin Opinion*"



THE VOICE OF JAPAN

WHERE ASIATIC REBIRTH BEGAN

by PRINCE FUMIMARO KONOYE

(*Prime Minister of Japan*)

From "Contemporary Manchuria," Tokyo (July, 1937)

Here the Japanese Premier gives the local version of his country's first venture in Continental conquest and settlement—that which began in Manchuria in 1931.

JAPAN, with her teeming population and innate power to grow rapidly in the domains of science and industry, has been excluded by the Western Powers from immigration or access to all available resources. Such an exclusion forced her to seek an outlet for her energy on the Continent of Asia. . . .

What would have become of Japan if she had been impelled to have recourse to another orientation, in the face of the policy

pursued by the Nanking Government? Supposing she had to turn her attention from the Continent, the consequence would be, at the very least, her enforced expansion towards regions already considered by the Western Powers as their spheres of influence or their colonial possessions. In plain English, the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident should have been deservedly welcomed by the Western Powers. . . .

Furthermore, the Manchurian Incident afforded the inhabitants of Manchukuo an opportunity for their rejuvenation. . . .

That Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang and his entourage were expelled from Manchuria and that "the citadel of misrule and corruption was now given a thorough renovation" seemed in the eyes of the Manchukuo inhabitants to be the outcome of "a Heaven-sent opportunity to the people of Manchuria to shake off their shackles" and to liberate themselves from their corrupt political state. . . .

The Popular Will as Guide

Furthermore, the New State of Manchukuo is vitally concerned with the *summum bonum* of the people as well as the popular will. "All persons residing in the New State shall enjoy equal treatment without distinctions of race or rank" (says the Proclamation of Independence).

Utmost efforts shall be made along the line of administrative renovation. "The New State will dispel the policies adopted in the dark days of the past; it will revise laws, enforce local autonomy; draft able men into the service of the government; elevate the officials deserving promotion; encourage industry; open up the natural resources of the country; maintain a good standard of living; adjust and regulate the administration of the police; eliminate banditry; promote and popularize education."

In the New State, the principle of Wang-tao (Kingly Way) shall be applied and its teachings practised. "In this way, the people will become educated and become prosperous and contented. The State can then assume its task of perpetuating the peace of the Eastern Asia and set up a model government," as vouchsafed in the Declaration of Independence.

In its external relations, the New State will "win the trust and respect of foreign Powers" through strict observance of international

World Review

WHERE RUSSIA TOUCHES JAPAN

While Japan holds Manchukuo, and presses forward in Inner Mongolia and North China, the U.S.S.R. controls Outer (Northern) Mongolia and is increasing her influence in Sinkiang, through which her arms are reported to be reaching China.

conventions. Financial obligations incurred "within the territory of Manchuria" by treaty or loan agreements with various countries prior to the establishment of the New State "shall be recognized in accordance with international usages."

Further it is pledged to pursue the policy of the "open door and equal opportunity" in the economic realm and to welcome investments by any foreign nation for the exploitation of natural resources. In this manner, the people of Manchukuo have addressed themselves energetically to the task of founding an ideal State, of which they have long dreamed.

Marvellous Progress

In the course of five years—a very short span of life indeed, in the light of the everlasting continuity of a nation—these people have already accomplished much. . . .

Any and every critic is advised to take glimpses of Manchukuo, as it is to-day. . . . Here is found a marvellous object-lesson, demonstrating what man can achieve, once he is determined to strive energetically.

In the old days, Manchuria was a synonym for a brigand-infested land. To-day peace reigns all over the land. . . .

While many Powers are afflicted with the malady of red figure finance, Manchukuo is graced by black figure finance of the soundest nature, which enables the New State to conduct numerous enterprises. Local government of feudalistic type has been replaced by the autonomous government of modern form, while feudalistic militarism has been completely wiped out and replaced by fighting services with modern equipment under centralised control. The unified currency system and the centralised credit system are other outstanding examples of successive achievements. . . .

The rapid advance made in the building of roads and railways is unprecedented in the history of communications. . . . Educational enterprises have been promoted, and elementary education fostered. Recently, the Imperial Institute of Manchukuo was inaugurated with the plausible aim of training leaders for the rejuvenation of Asia. . . .

There is no denying the fact that Manchukuo is as she is to-day, largely because Japan lent her a helping hand. Even in the future, it appears that Japan will not begrudge continuous aid. Historical circumstances rendered such aid virtually necessary. . . .

The common defence of Japan and Manchukuo was carried out in virtue of the "Japan–Manchukuo Protocol"; and such an undertaking was motivated primarily by the desire to save thirty million people from the Red menace. Doubtless this course of action will insure the lasting peace of Asia.

It is granted that Japan, in her collaboration for the development of Manchurian industries, may gain a due share of profits. But it is well to remember that the beneficiaries who gain the most direct and largest portion of profits are the people of Manchukuo, numbering thirty millions.

Ever since the Declaration of Independence, the revenues of Manchukuo have continued to increase, while the standard of living of the Manchukuo people has correspondingly risen. . . .

It is difficult indeed to size up the dimensions of the foundation thus laid up for the prospective renaissance of Asia. Any well-informed observer cannot but perceive the lofty, noble spirit of Japan prompting all her activities in Manchukuo—the pulsating spirit unfathomable by a commonplace standard of egoism. . . .

THE DESERT ALIGHT

Sapajou, "North China Herald," Shanghai.

The Nanking Government had hitherto made no remonstrance, even in the face of the actual, wholesale Sovietisation of Outer Mongolia. Should Manchuria be neglected as in the case of Outer Mongolia, it would certainly become a source of colossal calamity to Eastern Asia. . . .

Greed of the Western Powers

Manchuria was fated to be subjected to spoliation of the Western Powers—not to mention the Soviet Union. It is needless to dilate on how bitter were the struggles, how sinister the chicanery of the Western Powers, who even though pampered by their extensive territories and their vast colonial possessions, remained unsatiated, and ventured forth their greedy tentacles to Manchuria. The Chang Régime, susceptible to the lure of personal gain, readily succumbed to temptation and went to the length of extending the hand of welcome to those tendentious gestures of the West.

Manchuria was for decades placed under the ægis of the Open Door Doctrine. The true meaning of the Open Door Doctrine lies in this, that it is dedicated to the promotion of happiness and interest of the people residing under its influence. It gains a cultural significance only when it is construed thus. But the attitude of the White races to other races, especially to the Asiatic races, was essentially that of exploitation and plunder. The aggression of Czarist Russia was typical. Should several " Czarist Russias " ever make their *début* in Manchuria and contend for the lion's share, Asia would be turned into a scene of anarchy and holocaust.

Attacked by the Communists on the one hand, and subjected to the barrage of Western Capitalism on the other, the constituted authorities in Manchuria remained powerless to resist, and even lacked the will to resist.

Sombre clouds about to threaten the whole of Asia were rising in Manchuria. However, the timely advent of Manchukuo speedily cleared them away and dispelled the overwhelming unrest of Asia.

The advent of Manchukuo accelerated thus the rejuvenation of Asia. Asia, long regarded as a happy hunting ground, an object of exploitation—Asia tremulous at impending depredation in the hands of Western Powers—was enabled to enjoy a *volte face*, an opportunity

of creating its own civilisation and developing its resources by its own strength. . . .

Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang are regions of far wider territorial extent than Manchukuo ; yet they are with utter complacency left in the hands of Soviet Union ; while Tibet is given up to the domination of England. China would single out Manchukuo alone as her implacable foe and embark upon its destruction. Such a motive is ascribable to her inordinate desire to hamper Japan.

Since the establishment of Manchukuo does not connote the disruption of China, nor the loss of that which she had possessed, it is not to be regarded as equivalent to a " loss of face " on the part of China.

As a matter of fact, Chinese inhabitants numbering more than 20,000,000, the kinsmen of Chinese in China Proper, are now enjoying a peaceful, happy livelihood, undreamed of in pre-independence days.

Is it too much to expect that China should heartily felicitate the people of Manchukuo and promote friendship with them, especially when the régime of Manchukuo, constituted as it is to-day, has been fully supported by the general will of the entire population, even though there were some dissentient elements at the beginning of the new Administration ? . . .

Government by the Kingly Way

Furthermore, their fundamental ideas of government are based on Wangtao, " the Kingly Way." The Government derives its authority from Heaven, as mirrored in the Popular Will. Heavenly Will is, in short, the Supreme Reality, or the Divine Will. The classical adage reads " Heaven does not speak. It causes Man to speak." General Will of the people is tantamount to the Divine Will. The essence of the Wang-tao Government exists in the realisation of ideal government based on theocracy (the Unity of Gods and Man). . . .

Some people hold that Manchukuo is a territory of China, since the bulk of her population are composed of Chinese (the Han race). However, such a contention is wholly untenable. If it can be maintained that Manchukuo is Chinese, because Chinese people have penetrated beyond the Great Wall into the forbidden territory of Manchuria, we might as well be warranted in counter-arguing to the

effect that the United States shall be made British territory ; the Latin-American countries a Spanish territory ; or the Island of Hawaii Japanese territory. . . .

Obviously, progress of Manchukuo has brought considerable benefits to China. . . . The two countries are cemented by inseparable bonds of economic and industrial nature. There are no reasons whatever that they should be opposed to each other. . . .

Is it conceivable that Japan, who struggled for Manchukuo at enormous sacrifice entailing the loss of three hundred thousand precious lives and the expenditure of the huge sum of more than ten billion yen, inclusive of military expenses, investments and the cost of other enterprises, would allow the New State to collapse ? . . .

It bears repetition that the question under review involves not only the destiny of Japan, but also the very fate of Asia. It is the hinge upon which hangs the life of Asia. Therefore, should any country harbouring malicious designs ever tamper with it, some tragic disaster will surely ensue. . . .

Asia is now awakening with undreamt-of rapidity. It is no longer the colonial appendage of Western Powers. Should there be activity aimed at suppressing the renaissance movement, or alienating those people engaged in the promotion of such a movement—a movement, the sole purpose of which is to contribute, under the inspiration of the culture of three thousand years—its own share to the sum total of human civilisation, then such an activity shall be condemned as a crime against humanity.

THE NOT SO OPEN DOOR

From the " Straits Times," Singapore, 13.1.38

JAPANESE statesmen, when they have a few moments to spare from the business of offering explanations and apologies, are busy trying to remove from the minds of non-Asiatic business men any impression that Japanese control of Northern China will result in the imposition of severe restrictions on commercial activities. Several of the statements made contained references to the position obtaining in Manchukuo but, far from inspiring confidence, those assurances prompted neutrals to a retort along these lines : " This is precisely

what we fear." Thereupon another Japanese statement was issued to the effect that trading opportunities in a Japanese controlled Northern China would be " even more attractive " than those prevailing in Manchukuo—again the *suppressio veri.*

Western Interests Fade Out

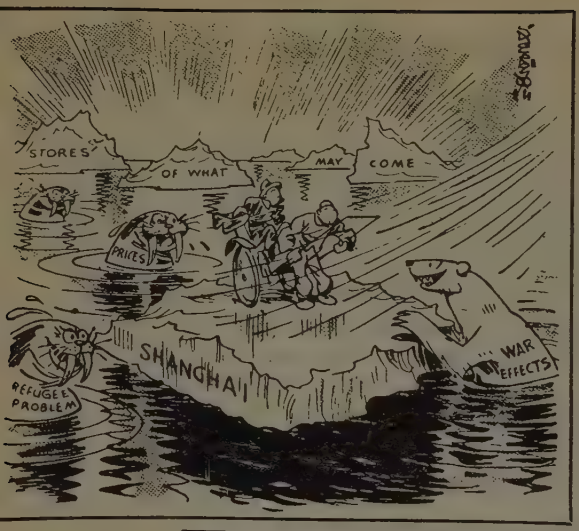
In the December issue of *The Contemporary Review*, Mr. John C. Le Clair describes in detail the status of foreign business interests operating in Manchukuo.

In the past six years 248 companies have been established in Manchukuo. Of these, 171 are Japanese controlled. Of the remainder, 77 are under Manchurian management with 11 financed by the South Manchurian Railway. To-day the Japanese Government, acting directly or through the South Manchurian Railway, is in the manufacturing of nitrogen, petroleum, magnesium, glass, textiles, cement, paraffin, woollens, ceramics, machines and the production of coal, soya beans and pig-iron. The Government is also in the distribution business, coal storage, marketing, agriculture, mining, forestry, communications, shipping, warehousing, express, land agencies, gas and electricity, building and contracting, banking, exchange, insurance, hotels and newspapers.

In May of this year legislation was enacted whereby all industries operating in Manchukuo were placed under the control of the Ministers of Industry, Finance and Defence. The laws require that official permission be secured for starting any venture and provide for continuous supervision by the Government, a list of various fines to be paid for any violation of a series of requirements being attached to the regulations. The so-called " important industries " for the carrying on of which official permission is required are all-inclusive, covering arms, aircraft, motor-car and liquid fuel manufacturing ; the iron, steel, coal and all metal industries ; woollen, cotton and hemp manufacturing ; flour milling, beer brewing, sugar refining ; tobacco manufacturing, soda, fertilising, pulp, cement and match industries.

Mr. Le Clair tells us that the effect of this version of the " open door " has been the wholesale withdrawal of foreign interests from Manchukuo. The Asiatic Petroleum Company, the Standard Oil Company of New York, and the Texas Oil Company, which previously controlled practically 80 per cent. of the sales of refined oil imported

(*Continued on page* 40.)



ANOTHER DRIFTING ICE-FLOE

Sapajou, "North-China Herald," Shanghai

IT'S WISEST NOT TO MOVE

Il Travaso delle Idee," Rome

into Manchuria, have disappeared. . . . There has been established the Manchurian Tobacco Company as a subsidiary of the Toa Tobacco Company to take over the business of the British American Tobacco Company. The National City Bank of New York has closed its branch at Mukden and there are rumours that a like fate is to overtake the Harbin office. The American Trade Commissioner no longer officiates in Mukden ; after the sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway the Soviet Government withdrew all trade and banking enterprises in Manchukuo and to-day there is not a single Soviet trading venture in the country. That is the " open door " as Manchukuo understands it—but things are to be " even better " for foreign trading interests under the puppet régime in North China.

ASIA FOR THE ASIATICS

by DR. MORINOSUKE KASHIMA (Director)

From the " Japan Times," Tokyo, 25.12.37

THE League of Nations, the Nine-Power Treaty and all the conferences concerning it have essential defects in their systems. It looks as though these organisations and conferences came into being for the convenience of the white races, who discuss all matters concerning China to the utter disregard of almost all the Asiatic peoples.

Japan, who in various respects is bound to stand and fall with China, is given no more voice than are countries such as Portugal and Bolivia that have little or no interest in China. It may not be too much to say that China is the objective of political schemes conceived by American and European countries.

Moreover, the League and the Nine-Power Treaty are a lasting menace to the emancipation and independence of the Asiatic races. Asia must needs rouse itself to action for its honour and for the protection of its rights and interests. Asia will declare that it has no intention whatsoever to interfere in American and European problems, but will be loud in the advocacy that Asiatic questions be reserved for Asia. The claim of Asiatic Monroeism is neither more nor less than that which America made a century ago in regard to the American continent.

In view of the gravity of Russia's Red menace, be it added, the Asiatic Monroe Doctrine is particularly significant at a time like the present. The aggressive policy of the Soviet Union, as well as its plot to cause all Asia to turn Red and become absorbed into its own political and economic systems must be guarded against by the united efforts of all Asiatic peoples, just as a century ago the despotic government of Spain had to be staved off by all the states in both North and South America under the shibboleth of Monroeism.

It is essential that peace and order should be restored sectionally first. It is worthless to rake up various countries at random without racial, economic, geographical and historical considerations and form them into a league of nations or make them conclude an agreement such as the Nine-Power Treaty. In the light of this fact, the consolidation of Asia will serve as an important stepping-stone to *rapprochement* between nations and to world peace.

WARNING TO BRITAIN

From " Mikayo," Tokyo, 21.12.37

THOUGH the British Government is denying them, reports persist that British warships are to be sent to the Far East. There may be no fixed policy of reinforcing the fleet in this part of the world, but many leaders in Great Britain are undeniably discussing the matter. If London is really intending to send warships to prepare for fighting Japan, it might as well save its energy, for the sending of several warships would simply mean making wartime " presents " to Japan.

Demonstrations will not intimidate Japan, but they will stimulate the Japanese people, making their feelings against Great Britain all the worse. Britain needs to change its Far Eastern policy, but it has not done so as yet. For a country that is known for its keen calculation, this is hardly fitting.

Britain has abandoned hope in General Chiang Kai-shek, but it cannot make up its mind whether to establish a pro-British régime in Canton or to swing over to the side of Japan.

We wish to emphasize to the British that it would be futile to attempt to establish a pro-British and anti-Japanese régime at Canton. Japan is determined not to allow the existence in China of any anti-

Japanese government and is fully resolved to eliminate all anti-Japanese elements. This is the reason for the current campaign. Britain would be wise to rely on Japan for protection of its rights and interests in China.

NO HOPE FOR CHIANG

From "Asahi," Tokyo, 23-12-37

THE success of anti-Japanese resistance will be determined by three factors—the extent of foreign aid to China, the morale of the Chinese armies and the attacking power of the Japanese army. There is no doubt of the low morale of the Chinese troops. As for foreign assistance for China, there will be a certain measure of it forthcoming, enabling the National Government to continue offering negative resistance against this country. But it is doubtful whether China has any reasonable hope of positive foreign assistance. There is a diminution in what material assistance is rendered by the Powers to China.

The only hope of the National Government seems to lie in the Soviet Union. There has been a certain amount of positive Soviet aid. But now that Lanchow, the only channel through which Soviet war materials are being received in China, has come within striking distance of our naval bombers, it is extremely doubtful whether the Soviet Union will aid China on anything like the scale on which it has hitherto done so. It appears that the National Government is left with no alternative but to concentrate its attention on promotion of the anti-Japanese spirit among the people to assist in a successful conduct of warfare against this country.

But it cannot hope much even of this policy of exciting popular sentiment against this country. Its influence is being felt less and less throughout the country, as witness the creation of the provisional government of the Chinese Republic in Peiping. The new régime is pledged to the elimination of Communism, overthrow of the Kuomintang, on which the National Government is based, and liquidation of the anti-Japanese policy followed by the National Government. The new situation in North China is proof that the National Government cannot hope to mobilize the masses to resist Japan over a protracted period.

INDIA—A FRIEND IN NEED?

GRANT INDEPENDENCE FIRST

From "Amrita Bazar Patrika," Calcutta, 14.1.38

Britain may have need of a friend in the East, says this Indian paper, stating the country's aims. Half of the new Indian Constitution worked with some success after the "Home Rule" National Congress agreed to take office, until a crisis arose over the freeing of political prisoners. But the section providing for Federation is still bitterly opposed. Mr. Subhas Bose, who will probably succeed Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as Congress President, recently told English journalists that Federation was planned by the British in order to make it impossible for progressive forces to have a dominant voice in the government

"WE demand full freedom, and a constitution framed by the people"—this is how Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose summed up the position of the Indian National Congress in the course of an interview in London. This, of course, did not mean that the Congress was either prepared or willing in the immediate future to enter on a struggle with the British Government to enforce compliance with its demands. In fact the Congress ministries which are running the administration in seven out of eleven Indian provinces are engaged for the most part in giving effect to the constructive side of the Congress programme, and in relieving the distress of the poverty-stricken masses so far as that is possible in the present circumstances. The Congress at present has no fighting programme, and the Ministers themselves are in no hurry to create any constitutional deadlocks, though they are far from satisfied with the powers that have been transferred to popular representatives under the present constitution. . . . The Congress has, so to say, extended to the British Government its hand of friendship, and now, as Sj. Subhas Bose has pointed out, "everything depended on the British Government." "Nobody," said Sj. Bose, "wants a conflict for the sake of conflict, and if a compromise could be reached which would satisfy our demands, it would undoubtedly be accepted." . . . The question naturally arises—Is Britain prepared to abandon her imperialist outlook for the sake of

justice? Or will she mistake the present peaceful attitude of the Congress for one of acquiescence in the present constitution? There are indications to show that the Congress attitude is very much misunderstood by British statesmen who control the policies of the State. There is an unmistakable tendency to regard the acceptance of office by the Congress as an abandonment of the Congress ideal of complete national independence; while there is reason to think that the relations between India and Britain are incapable of adjustment on a basis of friendship and equality, it is idle to believe that that end can be achieved simply by a repetition of pious platitudes without seeking to remove the causes of misunderstanding. The repeated attempts that are still being made to ignore the Congress point of view and thrust on India the Federal part of the constitution do not encourage us to take a hopeful view of the future. The Working Committee have, in the Independence Pledge that they have published this year for the guidance of Congressmen throughout the country, defined Independence to mean the severance of the British connection. This should serve to remind our British masters that in spite of acceptance of office by Congressmen, the Congress has not lost sight of its goal. There has been a change of tactics, but the fight for independence has yet to be fought and won. It is just possible, as Sj. Bose has said, that the solution of India's political problem is still far away; but there can be no doubt that the fate of Asia is once again in the melting pot. It is quite conceivable that if not for India's sake, at any rate in the interest of her own safety, Britain will be obliged at no distant date to recognise that a self-governing India, strong to defend herself against external aggression, is the best friend she could have in the East. While India is anxious to shake off British control, she is not necessarily averse to keeping up the British connection so long as that can be done consistently with the enjoyment of national sovereignty and self-respect.

THE BLACK HOLE NEVER EXISTED

From the "Hindustan Times," New Delhi, 20.1.38

CALCUTTA, which means Bengal of course, has never been kindly disposed towards what is known as the Black Hole monument. This monument was erected by Lord Curzon in the early years of

the present century in remembrance of an episode connected with the fight of Serajuddaullah, the last independent Nawab of Bengal, with Clive and the East India Company. It was said, and it was believed for a long time, that where stands to-day the proud monument erected by Lord Curzon, there existed a small windowless building in which a large number of English prisoners were confined by Seraj and that most of those prisoners died for sheer lack of breathing air. This ghastly story is to be found in most of the so-called histories of Bengal written by Englishmen. The sole authority was Holwell, who was a confederate of Clive.

The Black Hole of Holwell's concoction was the nightmare of the English people since its invention and it haunted the memory of unfortunate Seraj, who was more sinned against than sinning for about a hundred and fifty years till a Hindu historian of Bengal took up the cudgels on behalf of the last independent Mussalman Nawab of Bengal and proved to the hilt that the Black Hole was a colossal hoax and Holwell was the most unmitigated liar going at the time.

Babu's Slashing Refutation

Babu Akshay Kumar Maitra was one of the best historians of Bengal, and his book on *Serajuddaullah* is a real treat. This masterly treatise came out in one of the concluding years of the last century. The book, written in Bengali, could not reach the non-Bengali readers but it took the people of Bengal by storm, for it gave a picture of Seraj very different from what is found in the English-written histories and liberated his memory from the heaps of lies piled on it by British writers as a cover to the despicable treachery committed by Clive and his fellowmen against him. As for the Black Hole, Mr. Maitra demolished the whole myth by means of indisputable facts and arguments, not the least important of which was that there was no reference to it in any of the despatches of that time and that it was not mentioned by contemporary writers.

A Shock for Lord Curzon

If Mr. Maitra's book took the Bengalis by storm it came as a bolt from the blue to the bureaucrats, and particularly Lord Curzon, who, as Viceroy, had his headquarters in Calcutta. That prancing

pro-Consul of India was not the person to admit that Holwell or any of the divinities of the Company régime was a liar, but probably it was felt, even by him, that it was not possible to meet the arguments of Mr. Maitra, built on solid historical facts. At any rate, instead of pitting arguments against arguments and facts against facts, he shyly had a monument erected in memory of the mythical Black Hole. That was his answer to Mr. Maitra and it was a mean answer, for, according to all canons of justice and fair-play, he should have undertaken to vanquish Mr. Maitra before giving shape to Holwell's imagination. There were protests against that action of Lord Curzon, but of course they were not heeded, and the matter rested there till 1915, when a European writer, Mr. J. H. Little, wrote an article in *Bengal Past and Present* to corroborate the researches of Mr. Maitra, and to say that the Black Hole was a gigantic hoax. After the publication of that article the question was considered at a meeting of the Calcutta Historical Society, under the presidency of Arch-Deacon W. K. Firminger, where eminent historians, mostly Europeans, held unanimously that the story of Black Hole was not based on historical facts. Alas! what would have been the feeling of Lord Curzon if he had been the Viceroy in India at the time? However, the monument was a settled fact by that time and it stayed on despite the verdict of history against it.

A Muslim member of the Bengal Legislative Assembly has just tabled a question for the Ministry on the subject enquiring whether, following the Madras lead, the monument should be removed from the site, out of respect for the feeling of the Hindu and Muslim public against it.

ANOTHER TRIFLE

Japan may find it necessary to help India to achieve independence, and "so cut off the route of communication between Britain and Australia and New Zealand," wrote Mr. Sosen Gorai in the *Koku min* the other day. The opinion he expresses is by no means exceptional.—*Report from Tokyo in the "Austral-Asiatic Bulletin," Melbourne.*

TRIBUTE TO JAPAN

When at home, minding her business, Japan is a cute little nation.—*Toledo (O.) "Blade."*

ITALY HAS A MISSION TOO

by HERBERT VON BORCH

(*Rome Correspondent of the " Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung "*)

From " Europäische Revue," Stuttgart, February, 1938

VARIOUS European events during the last few months, originating in Roman initiative, have led to expressions of political self-realisation in Italy, which clearly display the outlines of a " Greater Italy " policy.

The idea of a " Greater Italy " is based, like that of a " Greater Britain," on colonial expansion, but differs from the English conception in consciousness of a mission, in which the classical Roman tradition and the revolution of fascism are united. Italy as an empire looks towards Africa as the effective basis of her new position in the world ; in Europe she wants to make use of this position for the mission which she believes she has in establishing the coming European order. She is far from renouncing a European policy since the conquest of Ethiopia inaugurated the first stage of her "Imperial" history. This was made obvious a short while ago on the occasion of the meeting at Budapest of the three Rome Protocol States. The conference gave evidence of Italy's intention to continue pursuing an active policy in the Danube area ; the declaration issued by the three, in which both partners (Austria and Hungary) expressed their agreement with the European line taken by the two Powers of the Berlin-Rome Axis, showed, furthermore, that Count Ciano went to Budapest with a *European* end in view—in order to make the instrument of the Rome Protocol serve in the great European questions posed by German-Italian policy. Rome thus took this opportunity of letting it be understood that Italy by no means felt herself too deeply involved now in the Mediterranean to continue playing her role on the Continent. This reminder was addressed to England and France. It indicated that Greater Italy will maintain, with the added weight of her Imperial power, the principle of fascist diplomacy —the principle of always being on the spot wherever European decisions are being made.

This trend of thought belongs to the sphere of Power politics ; it is, however, being filled in increasing measure in Italy with an ideological content which outsteps the bounds of diplomacy. Italy feels herself, with Germany, the bearer of the new European order. A cartoon recently depicted the Berlin–Rome axis as a magnet which was attracting more and more States—the artist had expressed a *motiv* which appears in many writings.

Italy's foreign policy is filled with an historical consciousness, that gives her actions a universalistic outlook, directed towards a new European order. From the beginning, fascism has been European in outlook : " the liquidation of old Europe has begun," declared Mussolini as far back as 1917 ; but it was not until after the experiences of the Sanctions period, the Spanish war, the final break with Geneva, and the failure of the attempts at reconciliation with England, that the conviction became firmly rooted in Italy that the new order can only develop *outside* the old forms, and that in this historical process the relationship of foreign and internal policy will be involved.

A *Unique Nation*

In an essay in the review *Il Frontespizio*, the well-known literary historian, Giovanni Papini, gives nine reasons for Italy's task of uniting Europe, and argues against seven objections. His reasons are: (1) Italy once before achieved the unification of Europe for 500 years (Roman Empire) ; (2) Italy once before achieved the spiritual unity of Europe for at least ten centuries (Roman Catholic Church) ; (3) Italy has produced in every century more great statesmen than any other nation, from the Gracchi to Cavour and Mussolini ; (4) the theory of politics and the art of government was born in Italy with Machiavelli ; (5) an " Italian Emperor "—Napoleon Bonaparte —once before tried to unite the whole of Europe in one Empire ; (6) Italy was the first nation to formulate after the war the principles of order and authority which must animate a united Europe ; (7) Italy was the first European nation which opposed the destroyer of European culture, Bolshevism ; (8) the spirit of Italy has always been universalistic and has always been the bearer of European missions (the Roman Empire, the Roman Catholic Church, the Renaissance) ; (9) the Italian people have an unerring instinct for synthesis in intellectual and social life. They have a natural inclina-

tion towards equilibrium, which enables them to lead nations with varying interests.

To the objection, that Italy has innumerable enemies, the writer replies that to be hated is always a sign of strength. To the objection, that Italy is by no means among the greatest and richest countries of Europe, he replies by pointing out that ancient Rome was a small city, that modern Italy was united by Piedmont, Germany by Prussia, Jugoslavia by Serbia, and Russia by the Grand Duchy of Moscow. To the objection, that Italy herself was only unified a short time ago, he retorts that for that very reason the Italian people realise the blessings of greater unity. To the fourth objection, that Italy is an imperialist nation, incapable of the spirit of justice, he answers that Italy has never felt herself a Chosen People, and that she is only obedient to the call of a heroic mission. To the objection, that other nations might be more suited to accomplish the work of European unification,

CENTRAL EUROPE: WHO WILL CONTROL IT?

he replies that only Italy is really complete in all capacities, while England, for instance, lacks music, France the gift of technical invention, Spain political genius, and so on. To the sixth objection, that the unification of Europe can only be achieved by an alliance, Papini replies that the solutions of this kind, from Leibniz to Coudenhove-Calergi, have all been destined to fail. And, finally, Papini replies to the doubts as to what methods Italy would use to bring about European unity, by pointing out that they produced Dante and Machiavelli : " Dantean Utopia will be made possible by the concrete pragmatism of Machiavelli."

Of course, these are the statements of one individual, but nevertheless, they form a clear summary of ideas which are active in Italian minds. In face of English warnings regarding " traditional friendship " (which presupposes a weak Italy), and French reminders regarding the " Latin sister " (which would challenge her equal status in the Mediterranean), Italy is beginning to make heard a claim to a European mission.

TWIN PEOPLES

British Empire in Decay

From the " Popolo d'Italia," Milan, 22.1.38

HISTORY marches on. By now no one is inclined to accept as valid the traditional parallel between Japan and England, two Powers which seemed destined to perform an analogous function. Obvious coincidences are no longer enough to justify the comparison, for one sees substantial differences emerging in the historical evolution of the two Empires, one of which—that of England—has given a thousand indications of impending decay, whilst the other—that of Nippon—is in the full flood of vitality and development. And, as one rises and the other wanes, the thought occurs that history is based on principles of morality and justice, since it rewards nations according to their worth. To-day, in fact, one finds in the ascendant those nations which derive their strength not from gold reserves, but from spiritual sources, from the integrity of national customs, from a temperate way of living, from a respect for law and for fundamental

values : the soil, the family, the race, the will to multiply and to perpetuate.

Far deeper and more convincing is the resemblance between Japan and Italy ; here the similarities are neither superficial nor fictitious, nor can they be reduced to a comparative assessment of territories and systems of coastal defence. On the contrary, there are more vital, more stable reasons to explain such an affinity. It is no mere chance that in recent times a firm solidarity has developed between Japan and Italy, a solidarity which finds its expression in the Anti-Communist Pact of November 6th, which is further strengthened by cultural exchanges and messages of good will between the two nations, and which is gradually moving towards complete political, economic and cultural collaboration. Nor is this the ephemeral product of ordinary diplomatic activities, but a real, lasting solidarity, such as is natural between two peoples who, in different fields of action, have marked their progress with the same ideals.

A Common Creed

Despite the fact that the two nations belong to different racial groups, they show an extraordinary identity of characteristics. Both have found in an imperial past, equally ancient and glorious, the pride and the incentive necessary for their rebirth ; a will to power which draws its inspiration from former greatness ; the worship of national tradition, the continuity and the projection into the present of primitive spiritual forces ; a common return to the original sources of national prestige and a common mystical creed ; a State standing supreme, unassailable ; a collective ethical ideal which places the interests of the nation above individual egoism ; the destiny of one's native land regarded with an almost religious faith, demanding on the part of every citizen boundless enthusiasm and self-sacrifice ; an element of heroism introduced into bourgeois ideology and a peaceful way of living. In the Japan of to-day and in Fascist Italy such have been the common elements of national renewal.

And such a rebirth has been achieved by both peoples through an identical calvary of hardships and sacrifices. But above all, exceptional density of population has schooled both peoples to a life of sacrifice and toil, of moderation and thrift ; the fact that both were condemned to expatriation has long linked Japan and Italy on the

world's highways, has taught them the meaning of starvation wages, of arrogance and humiliation, the contempt of those whose sole merit was to have enriched themselves on the tears and sweat of emigrants. Such, for the two nations has been the great drama which has finally resulted in the justification and precipitation of revolt.

CIVIL WAR THE HOPE

by CARLO ROSSELLI

(Italian emigré leader, murdered in France last year)

Quoted in "Giustizia e Libertà," Paris, 28.1.38

ONLY a revolution in Germany or a revolution in Italy can break the evil toils in which Europe is struggling. The international proletariat, international organisations and revolutionary parties should unite their forces to support the struggle in Germany, in Italy. Fascism, rabidly anti-internationalist, has for years been teaching the lesson of interference in the internal affairs of other people. The internationalists alone cease their efforts at frontiers, or limit themselves to demanding the liberation of victims.

A revolution from the outside? No, certainly not. But when 12,000 prisoners have been sacrificed to the Special Tribunal, and 10,000 sent to penal islands, when a régime has been made to perpetuate emergency legislation, one can claim real solidarity. Real solidarity. And also the only intelligent kind of pacifism. Peace henceforth will be saved in the streets of Berlin or Milan.

Either civil war, or war pure and simple. There is no escaping the alternative.

MISUNDERSTOOD

Because we lacked faith in the constantly changing face-values of the national life of China, and decided to withhold our moral support in the abnormal and temporary convulsions of her national mood, we have come in for a great deal of severe criticism, suspicion, and antagonism on the part of our neighbour. And this it is what we consider to be the highest price we have paid in our relations with China. We do not mind if the world brands us as an "aggressor" nation, if it calls us an "armed bandit," or if it considers us an "international outlaw." All this leaves us perfectly at ease. But to miss the heart of the great Chinese race—this is indeed a high price.—*Viscount Okabe, Tokio.*

HITLER CLOSES THE RANKS

ENERGY AND UNITY

From the "Hamburger Fremdenblatt," 5.2.38

The German Army purge carried out on February 4th is seen through Nazi and French eyes in this and the following extracts. It is also dealt with by a contributor on another page

IN spite of the fact that all kinds of things had been rumoured, people found themselves once again completely overwhelmed by the energy and striking power with which the Third Reich deals with political questions.

In particular, nobody suspected how extensive a reform of personnel and organisation in all important spheres of the State was imminent. The outside world is thus once more forced, willy-nilly, to admire the power and authority of the leadership which has steered Germany out of the narrow waters of its one-time impotence.

Defence forces, foreign policy and industry are the three great pillars on which the resurrected world power of Germany is borne. National Socialism was able to bring about a decisive turn in the fate of post-war Germany because it possessed the spirit and method necessary to remove the nation's inherent evil, its century-old disunion. In this sense the present change in State personnel signifies more than an ordinary shuffle. It marks a new and truly fundamental stage in the process of fusion, and unites defence forces, movement and industry even more closely than before.

Now that the Führer is to exercise immediate personal power of command over the defence forces, the intermediate post of Commander-in-Chief of the Army disappears, which was held by departing War Minister, Field Marshal von Blomberg. At the same time the control of foreign policy will be still more obviously in the hands of Adolf Hitler, who will be assisted by a newly-created Privy Council with Baron Neurath as President. The armament fever in England and America, the Far Eastern conflict, the events in Spain and the destructive work of the Bolshevik World-Front must make it clear to the most unsuspecting mind that revolutionary developments are taking place over the entire globe, which make the highest degree

of watchfulness the duty of all rulers and give unconditional first importance to political decisiveness.

The fundamental significance of the appointment of the former Ambassador von Ribbentrop as successor to Neurath in the leadership of the Foreign Office is fully appreciated by the foreign Press. The new type of foreign politician represented by Ribbentrop corresponds with the new laws of life which made their *début* in world politics with the National Socialist rebirth of the Reich. The German-English Naval Agreement, the formation of an ideological front against Communist disintegration, and the Rome-Berlin axis were deeds in which new foreign political content found its appropriate form. In all of them, freedom and peace have always been the aims, and will be in the future.

Everything that happens under the strong leadership of Adolf Hitler is in the final analysis directed towards assuring possibilities for developments in internal construction. It is not chance, but a fact of symbolic significance, that only a few days before the reorganisation, the plans for rebuilding the Reich capital appeared; these bore witness to the extent to which the Third Reich is seeking the reward for its struggles in works of peace.

"*Le Canard Enchaîné*", *Paris*

NAZI ARMY PURGE
"Bah! He'll never be anything but an *Ersatz* Marshal!"

"*Marianne*", *Paris*

ITALIAN FLIGHT TO BRAZIL
"What a face you're making!"
"Sure: we've passed near Barcelona without dropping any bombs."

National Socialism means, not least of all, *youth* in thought and action, an open mind for the novel. Not a few of the changes in personnel, in the Army in particular, have been made in accordance with this law of organic development. The Army and the Party will, however, in future be, in much more clearly-defined form, the two great organisations of German life, working in active co-operation, and with their inner and spiritual fusion made more certain than ever through the common leadership of Adolf Hitler.

The programmatic course of what has occurred will very soon be continued into the farthest ramifications of German life. The sole watchword for the German people now and henceforward is its unity in the sign of victorious National Socialist ideals. Understood in this sense, the re-organisation of the 4th February, 1938, is to be estimated in its significance scarcely lower than the 30th January, 1933.

FRENCH VIEWS

André Leroux in "Le Populaire," Paris

What has happened in Berlin these last few days is extremely serious. We must not hide that fact from ourselves. All the brakes which might have delayed the progress of the Reich towards a policy of expansion and aggression have been removed one by one. We understand now why Hitler did not deliver his usual speech to the Reichstag on January 30th. He was occupied, with his collaborators, in once more presenting a *fait accompli* to Europe and the German people. The Third Reich is burning its boats. That is the unquestionable and agonizing fact which emerges from the great upheaval which has just taken place in the governing circles of Hitler Germany.

M. Lucien Bourguès in "Le Petit Parisien"

Before this powerful, significant and perhaps menacing concentration the duty of the governments of London and Paris becomes particularly clear ; to close the ranks and bring means of defence to the maximum.

From "L'Oeuvre," Paris

Must we see in this concentration of power the signs of serious decisions which will be definitely in the line of *Mein Kampf*, more

than were Marshal Blomberg's counsels of prudence? In any case, it is hard not to connect the events of Berlin with the attitude taken by Italy—excuse me, by Franco's Navy and Air Force—in the Mediterranean, where England is at present being submitted to a test of strength.

Is there any reason for panic? No.

First because there is never any reason for panic and it is better to think. To think about this: that insofar as we, England and ourselves, are concerned, the time has come for us to adopt an attitude too, and no longer to be contented with Councils, conferences and scraps of paper. That the time has come for us to think of public safety and, by co-operation, to bar the way to war and make those who count on our internal dissensions hesitate and fall back. . . . Union among Frenchmen is always desirable; there are moments when it is indispensable, and then it always takes place at once.

From "Le Temps," Paris, 6.2.38

THE fears, which since the sensational decisions made at Berlin became public have appeared all over France, are quite legitimate and correspond to a defence reflex which reveals the depth of the patriotic feeling of all Frenchmen. But a reflex is not in itself a political attitude and the country of Descartes owes it to itself and to Europe never to depart from the method of clear and distinct ideas and to admit nothing as proved which has not first been submitted to the control of the reason. It is a fact that the organisation of the German government has just been appreciably modified, it is another fact that we do not yet know the real significance of this "palace revolution." It is, therefore, all the more absurd either to minimise an event which contains so many unknown factors, or to present it *a priori* as a catastrophe.

Moreover, even if it appeared certain that Nazi Germany is more disquietening to-day than yesterday, that would not be a reason for France to deviate from a sang-froid which has never been more necessary. If dictatorships like to proceed by means of dramatic coups, a democracy like ours, should, on the contrary, give evidence of that imperturbable calm, which *always* accompanies real force, and which is a force in itself.

INTERVAL FOR COURTESY

A FINE MAN

From the "Frankfurter Zeitung," 27.1.38

A SHORT time ago the anniversary recurred for the twentieth time of the day on which the German cruiser *Breslau* sank in a minefield in the Ægean Sea. Almost on the same anniversary a man in England was borne to his grave, whose name will always be linked with the sinking of the German cruiser—the British Captain Ohlenschlager.

The *Breslau* was at that time called the *Midilli* and was in the service of the Turks, after having fought her way, with the cruiser *Goeben*, through the chain of enemy warships in the Straits of Messina and finally reached Turkish harbour. On the 20th January, 1918, she was on a reconnaissance expedition when she ran on a mine and quickly sank. Rescue by her own boats was impossible.

At that time Lieutenant Ohlenschlager was in command of a British auxiliary vessel. He observed the sinking of the enemy, with whom he had so often been in combat and who now was incapable of resistance. Without hesitation, and without being deterred by the danger to his own ship and the lives of his crew, Ohlenschlager proceeded into the minefield, and rescued 162 German sailors. He saved human beings in need, although a short while before, when they were able to fight, they were his enemies, and he did it at the risk of his life. Is the concept "chivalry" rich enough in meaning to describe the behaviour of this English naval officer? His fatherland esteemed his deed highly, and, even in wartime, rewarded him with an order of distinction for having risked his life to rescue the enemy. It is reported that he preferred wearing this medal to any of the others which he received; but now a wreath of fresh flowers on his grave bears witness that this man received a still higher distinction—the enduring gratitude of the German men whose lives he saved. And though these flowers from Germany will wither, the memory of fathers and sons will guard the knowledge of a deed that in the midst of the bloodiest of all wars bore witness to the power of the ideal of noble humanity.

WHAT IS FREEDOM?

by RUDOLF KIRCHER
(*Editor*)

From the "Frankfurter Zeitung," 27.1.38

"Everyone knows that a newspaperman must write what the publisher demands of him. If he doesn't, out he goes"

IN one of the offices of a great American newspaper I had a conversation which the sentence quoted above reminds me of very forcibly. The scene was not one of the enormous rooms where dozens of journalists work together amidst a great deal of noise, but a quiet room which was allotted to one of the editors. He was still quite young. He looked at me keenly through his spectacles as he said, perfectly amiably, "Yes, you can't really understand that because you have no freedom of the press in Germany." He seemed to be completely surprised to hear that though we certainly have a national press policy, there is no preliminary censorship and the German journalist has to discover for himself when tact or regard for the general welfare demands certain restrictions in his work. But the American was so insistent on the words "freedom of the press" that I could not help asking in return, "How far does *your* freedom really go?"

"Naturally," he said, "we have to take certain things into account too; we have to think of the publisher and also of the advertisers, but if they don't suit us we can always go over to another paper. And that gives us the feeling of freedom." He thought it made a great difference that nothing compelled him but the necessity of not leaving a profitable post. Finally, journalism was a career in which one sold one's talents such as they were. A question was appropriate at this point: Is it really more dignified for a man with one eye on his cheque-book to submit to the whims and interests of a private clique, than to dedicate himself to the common aims of an entire nation, in the feeling that they were his own people, his one and only nation? No wonder that the conversation quickly turned to other subjects.

I would certainly never have forgotten this conversation, but it returned to my mind with renewed vividness when I opened a book which a friend in America had sent me. It is called *Washington Correspondents*; Leo. C. Rosten is the author and Harcourt Brace and Company (New York) the publishers. The title does not sound particularly exciting, though it is of course true that the hundreds of American journalists who serve their papers as Washington correspondents belong to the *élite* of American journalism. Where they come from, how they live and work, what they earn, how they acquire their technique of getting information, how they make contact with the government and with Congress, and how they are appointed to their positions would always interest us journalists, but what has a German newspaper reader to expect from it? To tell the truth, astonishingly much, for the largest news centre of the world is here examined and exposed with surprising thoroughness and lack of prejudice.

The American author is naturally most concerned with the significance of this unique material in relation to the problems of American internal politics ; but the observations that he makes are at least as significant in relation to international life.

The Editor Rules

The author of the book begins a chapter with the words : " The question which leads to most curiosity and debate in Washington journalistic circles, in the discussion of liberal papers, and among readers especially is this : How free is a journalist to hand in reports which are an honest expression of what he sees and thinks ? " The answers which Mr. Rosten received extraordinarily often in countless conversations were : " Everyone knows that you must write what the editors want," or " You will be kicked out if you do not provide the editorial staff with what they want." To investigate it more thoroughly, Mr. Rosten wrote a few precise sentences on one of his questionnaires, and 60 per cent confirmed that: " I would report objectively, but I know how my paper wants things represented." No less than 55 per cent complained that their reports were mutilated or suppressed altogether.

Next, Mr. Rosten asked these newspaper men whether they were at all in sympathy with the political and economic opinions of their employers. More than a third could not answer " yes " to this ques-

tion. A quarter replied with a flat "no." Mr. Rosten remarks laconically: "Those among the correspondents who are not in sympathy with their papers and think it necessary to suit their reports to the wishes of their chiefs find themselves in an unfortunate position." But he adds: "They are well paid, are treated with consideration and must earn their living." Then follows a sentence which I would like to show to the American I mentioned above, because it pitilessly destroys the illusion of freedom in which the American, like so many of his colleagues, enveloped himself. "The labour market is not big enough to guarantee freedom in the choice of employers."

"In a society," Mr. Rosten continues, "where 'freedom of choice,' limited by economic reality, is a favourite expression, an unsullied conscience is a luxury which belongs only to those who have money enough to refuse to compromise at the expense of their personal ideals."

One is more sympathetic when one hears that 60 per cent of the *élite* who were questioned declared: "If we journalists were not so accommodating we would discover that our freedom is greater than we have assumed." It appears then that what we call "civilian courage" is lacking in America, too. Certainly a man cannot boast of this virtue who tells the following story about himself. He was asked by his paper to say whether certain facts in relation to the draft of a new law were "correct." The correspondent found them so. But the editorial staff could not make up their minds to print the truth and asked the correspondent day after day whether they were "really correct," until the correspondent finally decided that the paper could "go to the devil" and have the story the way they wanted it. "So I arranged the facts and wrote the report that was wanted."

Journalists and Religion

So the famous freedom of the press discloses a not inconsiderable limitation—to put it mildly. Certain processes in the foreign press are hereby unequivocally explained. Occasionally it is quite a work of art for the reader to distinguish truth from falsehood, spontaneous judgment from bought criticism. To make this quite clear by an up-to-date example: although newspaper people, as Mr. Rosten points out on the grounds of their own confession, have taken up an entirely "antiseptic standpoint" towards religion, and, of the *élite*

of journalism in Washington over half on principle never, and nearly all the rest only very exceptionally, take part in religious ceremonies, they do not shrink from impudently and hypocritically criticising a similar disinclination reported from Germany.

Mr. Rosten says more than once categorically : " Newspaper people are not church-goers." Do the American readers always know that ?

Look For One's Own Mote

It is not the intention of this article simply to pick American journalism to pieces. It is the danger of generalisation that those to whom no blame is attached are sometimes condemned. I would not have touched on this theme if the work of the German press had not been spoken and written of in some foreign countries in a tone which indicates a complete misunderstanding of the conditions of freedom in many democratic countries. We German journalists know without being told by foreigners that our press has not yet reached the maximum possible development. We know that well enough. But we also know that abroad all that glitters is not gold. It would, therefore, be best for everyone to occupy himself with his *own* affairs and with the improvement of conditions in his own country.

HEAVENLY ENTERPRISES

Another political development which is believed by many to have considerable importance is that sponsored by the aged Mitsuru Toyama, former leader of the Black Dragon Society, for the amalgamation of all political parties into one, devoted to national purposes. On December 15 Mr. Toyama, Admiral Eisuke Yamamoto, and Captain Prince Sanetaka Ichijo issued a manifesto to the public appealing for the amalgamation of all parties, stating that a maintenance of the belief that parties existed for the defence of competing economic and other interests, was to fall victim to the " poison of Western thought " and pointing out that the real purpose of all political organisations in Japan was to " enforce national principles, and spread the heavenly enterprises entrusted to the Japanese Emperors with the unanimous support of the nation."—*H. Vere Redman, report from Tokyo, in " Oriental Affairs," Shanghai.*

ADVANCE ON THE SOAP FRONT

In 1938, the Soviet Perfumery Trust is planning to supply the rural areas of the U.S.S.R. with 445 million roubles worth of perfumes and toilet soap, which represents an increase of 40 per cent over the amount of these articles consumed in the countryside last year.—*Soviet Union Year Book Press Service, London.*

THE ANTI-FASCIST AIR FORCE

From the Propaganda Department, Barcelona, January 19th, 1938

THE entire world now knows that the Spanish Republic possesses an efficient and well disciplined Army. The victory of Teruel has been a brilliant proof of this. What is just beginning to be widely known is that its air forces are on an equally high level of efficiency.

It is possible that the number of planes on the Government side is inferior to those of the invaders and mutineers, but in the quality of their flyers the Government has an immense superiority, both morally and practically. The fascist pilots refuse battle whenever possible, as the skill of the republicans is only too well known to them, and the great efficiency of the new Spanish-built planes is proverbial. Fascist bombs destroy civilian homes in Governmental Spain, and kill their inhabitants without pity, but when actual air battles take place, the fascists are almost invariably the losers.

As the majority of the fascist pilots are foreigners, fighting merely to earn their salaries, it is not surprising that they refuse almost certain defeat.

Captain Rodolfo Robles is an Andalusian, born in Sevilla. His record as a loyal republican is an impressive one. An extraordinary number of adventures have given him a few grey hairs before his years could warrant them, but he has the enthusiasm of youth and strength. He tells with a smile of how he fired upon his commandant, Major Felipe Acedo, in 1932, when the latter ordered him to instigate the soldiers to the fascist rebellion which was attempted in those days. For this piece of real loyalty to the Republic he was condemned by a reactionary military court to six years' imprisonment, his accusers being General Mena and Colonel Fernàndez Buriel, executed as a fascist in 1936.

In September, 1936, he received orders to fly over Bilbao, where he had one of those terrible experiences which only a civil war can bring about. His orders were to bombard a fascist ship in those waters. One of his brothers was an officer on that ship. None the less, he bombarded the ship, having himself a narrow escape from its anti-aircraft batteries. Thus one more horror was added to the long score against Hitler, Mussolini, and Franco, when it became the duty of one brother to do his best to kill the other.

TRAVEL

We remind our readers that we are always glad to give advice on travel questions, and are in a position to obtain from the right quarters any information that may be required about tickets, hotels, etc.

LIFE IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA

It is curious, at first sight, that a high percentage of new settlers in Southern Rhodesia, should come, not from overcrowded Britain, but from other parts of the Empire. Even amongst those from England a number have previously lived abroad. It seems that the man at home is fearful of moving, but, once he has taken the plunge, finds difficulty in settling in these islands again. To such people especially Rhodesia is coming to have a particular appeal. The reasons for this are fairly obvious.

Mining and farming are the staple Rhodesian industries. As mining is a specialised profession and the unskilled labour force is black, it is in farming that the greatest hope of a considerable white population lies. The climatic and general conditions admirably suit the northern European and his children ; but in Rhodesia, as elsewhere, the farmer has been suffering from low prices. He can always sell his stuff, however, at a price. Rhodesian tobacco, in particular, is making satisfactory progress overseas in spite of strong competition. Farming in Rhodesia, therefore, however congenial an occupation, is not at present attracting very many of the limited number in this country who have the necessary courage, energy and capital.

There is, however, a class of settler that is finding just what he wants in Southern Rhodesia. This is the retired man and his family. The England that he returns to after service abroad is not the England of his dreams. Perhaps he has taken a holiday tour to see the Victoria Falls, the mysterious ruins at Great Zimbabwe, or the newly-opened holiday areas in the eastern highlands of the Colony, and has fallen in love with the country, the climate and the people. " Try before you buy " is a wise maxim for migrants.

Casual visitors, too, find to their surprise that there is another Britain, but without the cold and damp, without the stiffness of county and suburban society, without the servant problem and even without income tax—unless they are really rich—but with the same people and the same ideals. They also discover, if they trouble to enquire, that excellent education, academic, modern and technical, is free, and that there are careers for their children.

The English tourist, via the Cape, gets his first surprise when he leaves the train at Bulawayo. He finds a modern town with wide pavements and tree-lined streets, lit with electricity. The shops look like those in his home town, and sell the same brands of goods. The number of black faces about may remind

him of Bloomsbury. He will miss buses and trams, but this is because so many Rhodesians own cars that every time buses have been tried they have failed.

This Southern Rhodesia, he thinks, is a fraud. His first impression, however, is dispelled as soon as he passes the outskirts of the town. Let him go a few miles in any direction from the centres of population, and he will find the romance, mystery and natural beauty of his dreams.

There is some subtle and peculiar charm common to all the Rhodesian veld, whether this be open plains, tree-covered mountains or river valleys. Perhaps the silence, the feeling of space, the variety of colours and the brilliant, exhilarating atmosphere combine to produce the effect.

This is not the idle fancy of a few super-sensitive individuals. Visiting sportsmen with their guns and fishing rods, and casual tourists with their cameras, share the experience with the oldest prospectors. Perhaps this explains why Rhodesians, whether living in towns or on farms and mines, spend such an extraordinary amount of their spare time in picnicking."

The recent development of roads and bridges has led many tourists who originally intended to visit only the advertised show places of the Colony to try the local holiday habit. By this means, they come to see the real Rhodesia and to meet the people. With a native guide and factotum, who asks extraordinarily little for his services, they drive out into the wilds. They call, in passing, at some isolated mine or farm and, according to the hospitable custom of the country, are asked to a meal, to stay the night and look for a guinea fowl or buck early next morning with their host. After such an experience it is difficult to return Home and to stop there, unless there is some very pressing reason.

Car Topics

BRITISH CAR EXPORTS KEEP UP

by R. à B. CHOMLEY

Recession already shows signs of slowing down in the motor industry. While the figures for the last few months, from September onwards, have been discouraging, there is now a much more hopeful turn.

This slackening in the motor industry, for it is no more, possesses many curious features, the most striking of which is that it seems almost entirely to be confined to the home market. Indeed, according to the latest monthly returns our exports, both of private cars and commercial vehicles, during the "recession" months are, on balance, higher than they were in the corresponding months a year ago. There is a small gain in the number of vehicles sold, and a very distinct gain in their value owing to the general increase in prices.

This is all the more remarkable in view of the fact that in our present difficulties, the motor industry cannot rely upon the help of currency depreciation, as in the great slump of 1931, when, for a short period, British car exporters were in a very favourable position.

On the other hand, the ground gained then has never been lost. The very big increase during recent years of British car exports should help the industry now. British manufacturers are no longer virtual interlopers in overseas markets. Their sales organisation abroad is established much more firmly. Further-

more, thanks largely to the reduction of the car tax a few years ago to 15s. per horse-power, British export models have tended more and more towards the American type with which they most closely compete. Indeed, there is no longer the same sharp distinction between British, American or German cars. There has been an international levelling up. Our big cars, particularly our popular twenty-fives, clearly reveal American influence.

Discussing the problems of car export recently, Mr. Alan O. Tookey, Overseas Secretary of the Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders, referred to the need for more co-operation by shipping interests if exports are to be encouraged. A number of steamship lines have made no attempt either to provide suitable storage space for unpacked motor cars, or to introduce special lower rates for boxed cars, such as would enable manufacturers to cover the cost of packing. They have never really departed from their original idea that the motor car is luxury freight. This short-sighted attitude is in strong contrast with the active encouragement given by the Americans.

Given suitable encouragement, at home, the British motor industry has still great opportunities abroad, since of the world's cars, the United Kingdom at present supplies less than 20 per cent. On the question of satisfying special requirements of overseas markets, Mr. Tookey made effective answer to some of the criticism frequently brought against British cars. Critics should realise that volume-produced cars cannot be manufactured to the individual requirements of a particular overseas market, except at an additional cost, which would normally be sufficient to render the vehicle non-competitive.

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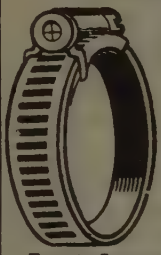

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INTERNATIONAL BOOKSHELF

The Editor reminds his readers that he does not necessarily share the opinions expressed by reviewers in this section. But this is a free country and knows no censorship

HAMMER OF ASIA

JAPAN OVER ASIA. By W. H. Chamberlin. *Duckworth.* 15*s.*

I SPEAK FOR THE CHINESE. By Carl Crow. *Hamish Hamilton.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

WHEN CHINA UNITES. By Harry Gannes. *Dent.* 8*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by SIR FREDERICK WHYTE.

IF I were asked to give some reader of the WORLD REVIEW a short and readable account of the Chinese case, I would give him Mr. Crow's book. The title, of course, speaks for itself. Mr. Crow is openly pro-Chinese, but he puts the case well and in such short compass as a man may read in the train between London and Birmingham. Naturally, it is a compressed essay, but a lively one, written by an author who knows both China and Japan ; a good piece of propaganda in fact ! Mr. Gannes is a propagandist, too, using the history of Sino-foreign relations for a hundred years past in an " anti-imperialist " vein in order to show how the process of Chinese unification began under the pressure of foreign imperialism and is reaching its climax in the present conflict with Japan. The earlier part of his book tells a story which is now history and ought to be written as such, which Mr. Gannes does not do ; but the latter part is the story of to-day, which is not yet history, and the reader in search of enlightenment will find it in *When China Unites.* Mr. Gannes paints on a much larger canvas than Mr. Crow, and fills in the details of the Chinese problem in pointed and pertinent fashion. And if the reader will remember that he is a Left-Winger he will realise that (given Mr. Gannes's point of view) this book makes a real contribution to our knowledge.

Mr. Chamberlin has a different purpose. He has sought to present an objective picture, neither " vindicating " nor " indicting " Japan, but interpreting faithfully, as far as any Western observer may, the motives and causes of Japanese policy. In the course of his endeavour, he surveys the scene of Japanese action in Manchuria, Mongolia and China ; he presents its probable, or possible, diversion southwards, pausing to estimate its present and future effect upon Russian, British and American interests in turn; and he devotes something more than one whole chapter to nationalist China. Having thus traversed the whole foreign theatre of actual or prospective Japanese expansion, he turns back to Japan itself, and devotes seven chapters (the best in a book in which all are good) to the internal scene of Nippon. Here he displays the quality of dispassionate appraisal which gave his studies of the Soviet Union their recognition. Sometimes he seems almost too dispassionate, as if it were possible to hold an even balance of responsibility between the Far-Eastern combatants ; but, since his object is to enable us to see Japan as

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she sees herself, and (more particularly) to hold the mirror up before the face of military Japan, we can but acknowledge the debt under which he lays us. Especially good is his chapter on "The Lion and the Foxes," depicting the struggle for power between the Army and Big Business. There are pages in it more revealing than anything recently written about Japanese life, while his account of the Emperor-cult will help the Western reader to understand the anxiety with which Japan clings to the idea of kingship.

In asking "How Strong is Japan?" Mr. Chamberlin answers that her weaknesses will not be revealed unless the present conflict lasts longer than seems likely, but that "the nervous and volatile Japanese national temperament and the precariously balanced national economy" are ill-adapted to endure a long struggle against a major Power.

DISILLUSIONED RED

ASSIGNMENT IN UTOPIA. By Eugene Lyons. *Harrap*. 15*s*.

Reviewed by CHRISTOPHER HOLLIS

THIS is a tremendous book. I went on reading it through an Atlantic gale, though I knew that further reading meant sea-sickness. There are indeed few books of which it can be said that one would rather be sea-sick than put them down.

Mr. Lyons, a journalist from the East Side of New York, grew up with Left sympathies. Experiences in his own country—especially the covering of the Sacco-Vanzetti trial—confirmed him in these sympathies, and he had an ardent admiration for the Russian experiment. He served for a time in America on the Tass Agency, and then, when the opportunity came to him in 1928 to go to Russia as the chief correspondent of the United Press, he eagerly jumped at it. This book is the record of his six years' residence there and his disillusionment.

Mr. Lyons' conclusions are not very different from those of his distinguished fellow-countryman and fellow-journalist, Mr. Chamberlin. It is his contention that there must be no condonation for a regime which attempts to destroy the freedom of the human spirit, that the Russian regime has made and is making that attempt, and that it is a disastrous sentimentality to seek to whitewash it because of dislike of the extravagances of capitalist or fascist regimes. On the contrary it is the Russian regime which by its cult of violence is largely responsible for the fascist answer to it, and fascism can never be effectively attacked so long as it survives.

Even now Mr. Lyons' standpoint is not in every detail clear. From the greater part of his book we should gather that he held Stalin very directly responsible for the enormities of the regime and that no language could be strong enough to express his detestation of him. "The decision," he writes of the policy by which three or four million people were starved to death in the famine, "made Stalin and his underlings as directly responsible for every death from typhus, every bloated baby stomach, every waggonload of corpses in the following months as if they had strangled the victims with their own hands." And there are other judgments as violent scattered through the book. Yet in recounting his interview with Stalin Mr. Lyons gives a pleasing picture of him and quotes himself as saying, as he came away, "I like that man."

English pundits do not come off well at Mr. Lyons' hands. The Webbs he finds merely foolish. The accusations against Mr. Bernard Shaw are more serious and very strongly require an answer, if Mr. Shaw has any further care for his reputation.

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AN EPIC TRAGEDY

THE TREE OF GERNIKA. By G. L. Steer. *Hodder & Stoughton.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by PHILIP JORDAN

If I should seem to praise this book immoderately, it is because it is an exceptional book ; and if the Spanish civil war unleashes on the public one that is better written or informed than this, I shall be prepared to eat not only my own hat but those of Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton as well.

The Basque problem was never a Spanish problem ; any more than the Basque war against the overwhelming forces that Franco and Mussolini threw against that Christian democracy was an integral part of the Spanish civil war.

If Franco had had an ounce of native wit there would have been no Basque war, no bombing of Gernika (or as some prefer to spell it, Guernica), no massacre of a decent and peaceful race.

All that the Basques asked was a measure of autonomy, that they might, so far as their own affairs were concerned, rule themselves in their own way, according to their own traditions, speak their own language, and carry on their deep and abiding attachment to the Roman Catholic Church.

A gesture from Franco and they would never have been actively hostile to his cause—but Franco was too dumb to make that gesture ; and Madrid wasn't.

As Mr. Steer so clearly shows in this noble work, the Basque people despise the Spaniards as an alien and upstart race ; and ask nothing more than that they shall be left alone to dwell in their own classless, catholic democracy behind the barrier of the mountains which they love so well.

But they were not to be left alone. Despising equally the extreme right and extreme left, they were ground to pulp between the two forces. Had they accepted the discipline and experience of the extreme left they might have held out longer ; but they didn't.

They chose to manage their own affairs in their own way ; and with an untrained, miserably equipped army that hardly knew one end of a rifle from the other, they kept the might of Italy and rebel Spain at bay for months ; and perhaps, thereby, altered the whole course of the war, perhaps, indeed, altered the history of Europe and mankind.

The Basques stood for all that is dear to most men : they refused to believe that history is written and lived only in terms of black and white, left or right ; and for their temerity in standing up for that fundamental and undying truth at an inconvenient moment, they were blotted out and massacred.

For many weeks I watched the tragedy myself, and watched the slow but un-

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ceasing retreat across the mountains; and the reviewer can give this book no higher praise than to say that I could have wished to write it myself.

Every detail of some six of the weeks about which Mr. Steer writes, I knew at first hand, and I can find no flaw in the statements he makes and in his recital of events.

If, as I hope, a further edition of this book is called for, it should be supplied with better maps. Also the index needs correcting.

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This delightful little book contains illustrations, which are examples of the most delicate of colour-printers' art, of enchanting creatures wearing traditional Tyrolean costumes.

STORM AND CALM

AND IN THE DISTANCE A LIGHT. By Manuel Chaves Nogales. *Heinemann.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

MY HOUSE IN MÁLAGA. By Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell. *Faber.* 8*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by V. S. PRITCHETT.

THESE books are strange bedfellows—one the sensational type of story about Spain which the English season-ticket holder loves, a poor relation of Blasco Ibanez's melodramatic export; the other a quiet, illuminating record by a distinguished English scientist of what happened in Malaga during the "Red" regime and on the first day of General Franco's occupation of that city.

Senor Nogales was a newspaper editor in Madrid. He knew, saw and heard a lot in those first disorderly months and

no one doubts that the place abounded with spies, assassins, adventures horrible and grotesque. Many would be worth writing. But the trouble about Senor Nogales is that he can't write and can't create a credible character from his first-hand material. Plain reporting would have been better than these half-fictions with their highly concocted air. Yet so crude are popular notions about Spain that it is not surprising to see this book palmed off as the real thing.

Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell shared the general ignorance when he went to live in Malaga before the war started. But soon curiosity aroused him and events did the rest. Looking behind that peaceful and luxuriant scene he soon found that the peasants who looked so picturesque were living on the starvation level; that "their Republic" in which they had placed all their hopes of emancipation to a level of living and social amenity long established in happier countries, was being hamstrung by those who wanted to keep things as they were.

There is no point in going over the whole story again. Sir Peter's political sympathies were soon with the "Reds": he had aristocratic neighbours. But those sympathies were not shared by the other British residents who fled shouting atrocities to the skies. It was natural. Class feeling is pretty well the strongest English emotion, and all over Spain the British Consuls—who in turn supplied information to the British government—were sending home the views they had obtained mainly from a small circle of people with important business interests. With a wider circle these officials had very little contact. Yet it is surprising, as Sir Peter says, that Englishmen who have learned at some time the history of their own civil war should have shown so little understanding of the causes and rights of this one.

When the trouble started Sir Peter soon had his aristocratic neighbours on his hands. It was a piquant situation, the Left wing Englishman protecting the lives and property of people whom he regarded as having a direct responsibility for the war. Indeed, they did not deny it. They were abashed to find themselves owing their safety to the hated Anarchists. But this chastening of their intolerance and hatred was temporary. When the Italians arrived, the family behaved with the grossest ingratitude to Sir Peter, though he had risked his own ease and safety for them. He was arrested, and some sort of promise that he would not speak was extorted from the British naval officers who rescued him. That silence he has now very rightly broken, not indeed to reveal anything sensational—he saw little of the bloody scenes that followed the fall of Malaga—but to tell a story whose sobriety and humanity are a testament to his character. A born administrator, firm, tactful and unruffled, he reminds us there are still some Englishmen who behave without the fashionable pusillanimity in crises abroad.

MAKE WAY FOR HITLER!

GERMANY AND WORLD PEACE.

By Sven Hedin. *Hutchinson.* 15*s.*

Reviewed by MAJOR B. T. REYNOLDS

DR. SVEN HEDIN knew Germany well before, during and after the War. He was on an expedition in Asia when Hitler came to power, and had his first glimpse of the Third Reich in the course of a lecture tour that he undertook on his return in 1935 and 1936. He was immensely struck by the changes that had taken place and "approached the study of these men of the new era with the same feelings of curiosity that I had previously felt when I visited the native country of Kirghiz, the Mongolians and the Tibetans."

He prefaces his account of the Third Reich with seven chapters on pre-War Germany, the War, the Weimar Republic and the circumstances that led to the assumption of power by Hitler.

He then goes on to give us an interesting account of what he saw in the new Germany. He finds many things worthy of praise, few of which he cannot approve. He deprecates the treatment of the Jews. He admires the driving-force, the reconstruction work and the social programme of the new regime. He examines the religious question and is "convinced that the Christian Church is in no greater danger in the Third Reich than in any of the other Christian nations." He sums up the results of his investigations: "The German people of our day have undergone a transformation of extraordinary magnitude. A people who are daily growing stronger and who, owing to a short-sighted and malevolent policy have been obliged to develop their resources within the bounds of an abnormally circumscribed territory, and whose moral and historical right to possessions in a foreign continent have been spurned, will one day reach a culminating point of exasperation when no dams and no barriers will any longer hold back their pent-up fury. And then that war which nobody wants will break out. Give this people access to the outer world," he concludes, "and their pressure to the west and the east will cease."

This is presumably intended as a friendly appeal to give back Germany her former colonies. The colonial question is not closed to discussion, but anyone who has given thought to the subject will realise that Germany's needs, as envisaged by her present rulers, are not to be satisfied in that way. There is at least as much need for the thought and standards of the rest of the world to be interpreted to Germany and her present rulers as for the reverse process. But, how is it to be done?

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THE WORLD OF FINANCE

QUICKSANDS OF FINANCE

by "RAPIER"

BOTH the security and commodity markets of the world continue to be dominated mainly by the gyrations of Wall Street, and even the autarkic countries are only partly insulated from the shocks emanating from that centre. Wall Street itself is mainly dominated by the course of events in Washington though, while its gaze is chiefly fixed upon the Administration and Congress, it also keeps a weather eye upon the world outside, fearing the signs and portents of war. In these circumstances investors are confining their purchases to gilt-edged bonds and the more timid among them have resumed the practice of hoarding gold. Speculators are still nursing the wounds inflicted in the autumn slump and at most have been indulging in the practice of "stagging", or premium-hunting on new bond issues. Actual consumers of commodities who are obliged to buy supplies for their current needs, do so on a hand-to-mouth basis, fearing to build up stocks which may deteriorate in value. Confidence in fact is everywhere lacking except in those industries which are well supplied with armament orders. Nor have recent events in international politics tended to dissipate the prevailing uncertainties. The "Palace Revolution" in Germany, though so far bloodless, contains the germs of a potential threat to European stability should a more aggressive foreign policy result from the changes in leadership. On the other hand, despite Mussolini's welcome to the new regime, the threat to Austria may disturb the Rome–Berlin–Tokyo axis and make Italy more amenable to British interests in the Mediterranean. Italy, too, undoubtedly badly needs credits, and it is difficult to see where these could be obtainable except from a more friendly Britain.

The Van Zeeland Report

The first reactions in Italy to the Van Zeeland report, which suggested some form of credit to free in part the exchange restrictions of the autarkic countries, were, however, decidedly obstructive. Germany has so far given no sign of its reactions but is said to be awaiting a lead

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from Britain and France, and at the moment has more pressing domestic problems to solve. The British Government, which welcomed Van Zeeland's report, has referred it to experts in the departments concerned. But perhaps its leaven working on the official mind may be traced in Sir John Simon's announcement of a liberalisation of Britain's foreign lending policy. The relaxation of the bans imposed since 1921 may be summed up by saying that British policy is now controlled only by political considerations and no longer by economic factors in this country. This is certainly a step in the right direction, and one which has long been urged in the City of London. In fact the Van Zeeland report by its proposals for freeing international trade from present shackles follows mainly on the lines urged with one accord by leading British bankers in their annual addresses to shareholders.

The French Government has made no public statement on the Van Zeeland report, but the policy of the re-shuffled Chautemps cabinet in maintaining a free foreign exchange market, and refusing to listen to the syrens calling for exchange control, at least leaves the door open for further advances on the lines of the report.

Brave Words from the U. S.

And what of America ? It was reported early in February that the presidents of three big rail-road companies had publicly stated that the business recession was now over and that they forecasted a great improvement by the spring. These are heartening words and fair portents though, like Elijah's little cloud on the horizon, they are at present but the size of a man's hand. True the Administration is embarking upon an expansive programme of re-armament and housing, and in other ways is proposing to increase government expenditure, but so far actual action is delayed and with

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the rapid increase in unemployment, now estimated to be between eight and ten million, purchasing power is declining. Moreover, the series of conferences between the Administration and business men appear to be as far from reaching agreement as ever. Indeed an American correspondent writes that so far it is the President who has done all the talking, and that he is a bad listener, especially to those whose ideas conflict with his own. Business men still place their hopes upon the independence of Congress in resisting the President's policies. Such opposition is more likely to develop in the Senate than in the lower House of Representatives. For the cynically-minded should note that the whole of the lower House has to stand for election in November, while only one-third of the Senate has to face the electorate. If, therefore, Congressmen feel that the President still has a majority of public support resistance to his policies is more likely to come from those Senators who do not have to seek re-election than from their more nervous confrères. Unless business confidence can be restored prior to the elections, the Government will be compelled to continue to "priming the pump" to stimulate recovery, and though this may have the desired effect in the short run, the ultimate effect is equally feared by Wall Street, which sees the dangers of uncontrolled inflation looming in the distance. Nor has this aspect been lost upon those internationally minded rentiers who shift their balances from one centre to another, seeking safety for their capital. Recently there has been a recrudescence of selling of dollars and buying of sterling and transfer of the sterling into gold. On each occasion that President Roosevelt makes some statement that can be construed as inflationary this process is accentuated. In other words, as I have indicated throughout this article, what the world most needs is a return of confidence, and among the shifting sands of the world today where is this confidence to be found?

Tailpiece

Much amusement was caused in the City the other day by the report that a large shipment of German arms to China had been underwritten by a leading Japanese insurance company.

TOWARDS RETURNING CONFIDENCE

"Stay here and listen carefully to the Government's appeal for confidence, while I go to the bank and buy dollars."

"Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris

DIARY OF INTERNATIONAL EVENTS: JANUARY—FEBRUARY

SPAIN

In Spain the chief military event of the month was the victory gained by the Nationalists north of Teruel (February 5-8th), resulting in large captures of prisoners and guns.

At sea the attempts of the Nationalists to cut off their enemy's supplies led to renewed interference with shipping. In consequence of the sinking of two British ships on the high seas—the *Endymion* sunk by a submarine off Valencia on January 31st, and the *Alcira* sunk by Nationalist planes off Barcelona on February 4th—Mr. Eden announced (February 7th) that the Navy had been ordered to attack any submarines found submerged near the trade routes in the British patrol zone; France and Italy had also agreed—the latter "gladly and promptly"—to act likewise in their respective zones. Concerning the *Alcira*, General Franco had been warned that Great Britain reserved her right to retaliate in future, in such cases. The Salamanca Press service observed (February 7th) that there was no proof that the *Endymion* was sunk by a Nationalist submarine.

Air raids were made by Republican planes on Salamanca and other towns (January 21-23rd) in reprisal for Nationalist raids on coast towns. On January 28th the Republicans offered to desist from this kind of warfare if their enemy would do likewise, and to participate in any efforts for an agreement to that end. This offer was rejected by the Nationalists by radio, and on January 29th Barcelona was twice bombed, with heavy civilian losses. On February 1st M. Chautemps, the French premier, said that he was conferring with other governments seek to put an end to these deplorable acts. Mr. Eden announced (February 7th) that the British government had taken a similar initiative, and was aiming at an international agreement for protecting civilians against bombing. Spanish Nationalist circles regarded these suggestions as unpractical on the ground that many military objectives were situated in populous Republican centres. On February 3rd the Republican government declared that, in view of the Franco-British response to its offer, it had cancelled the reprisals for the raid on Barcelona and, during negotiations, its Air Force would make no raids on towns in rear of the front.

On January 31st General Franco published a law setting up a regular government in place of the Junta, which was dissolved; Articles 16 and 17 of this law invest him with dictatorial powers. The seat of the new government is at Burgos.

FAR EAST

The Japanese government, informed of the non-acceptance of the terms offered to China through the German Ambassador in December, announced, on January 16th, that while respecting China's sovereignty and integrity, and the interests of third Powers, it would have no more dealings with the Chinese National Government, but would look for the establishment of a regime with which it could co-operate to build up "a rejuvenated China."

The Chinese and Japanese ambassadors accordingly withdrew from their respective embassies, which continued to function under the counsellors.

From successive statements by Prince

Konoye and Mr. Hirota during the next few days it would appear that Japan's war aims included: continuation of hostilities for the overthrow of the Chinese National Government; no formal declaration of war, and no claim to belligerent rights, though events might render these necessary; creation of a central government for all China (whose unity would be preserved); eventual conclusion of peace with the new government on the basis of the above-mentioned terms; economic development of China, under a degree of State control; occupation for some years of certain (unspecified) districts, at the cost of the new regime; damage suffered by Japan to be included in the war indemnity; Japan's ultimate aim being to acquire a central position, enabling her to act as a "stabilising factor" in the East.

The Chinese Government's response to the rupture of relations was a declaration (January 18th) that it would exert all its efforts to uphold China's sovereignty and integrity, and that all acts of organisms set up by Japan in China were void. It was stated that the Japanese peace terms had been too vague for a basis of discussion, and that "necessary details" about them could not be obtained. The German Government had announced (January 18th) that it had merely acted as an intermediary in transmitting these terms.

On February 22nd, in the Diet, Mr. Hirota expressed Japan's desire to retain England's friendship, but counselled her to understand correctly Japan's position in East Asia. This warning was repeated, more explicitly, in the Diet by Baron Somoda (January 25th), and, in an interview with *Oriental Affairs* by General Matsui. Japanese opinion was incensed against the British, whom they regarded as the chief purveyors of arms to China, a belief which Mr. Hirota corrected (January 25th) in the Diet, but failed to remove. The actual exports of arms from Great Britain to China from June 1st, 1937 till January 31st, 1938, were of a value of £134,338.

Great Britain, for her part, protested against a decree issued (January 28th) by the Peking Government, modifying the Customs schedule for North China in favour of Japan, and refused (January 28th) to admit the claim of the Japanese authorities at Shanghai to censor commercial cables, or demand copies of the codes. A compromise was reached on this point, consular certificates of bona fides securing exemption from censorship.

On January 17th the United States, in view of frequent outrages by Japanese soldiers in North China against American nationals and property, demanded that the assurances given by Japan on December 27th should be respected. An assault on Mr. Allison, Secretary of the American Embassy, by a Japanese soldier led to an oral apology by the Japanese Foreign Office on January 31st. President Roosevelt stated (January 18th) that he did not regard the rupture of Sino-Japanese relations between Japan and China as involving the application of the Neutrality Act.

THE LEAGUE SESSION

The 100th Session of the Council (January 26th to February 2nd) gave occasion for affirmations of fidelity to the Covenant. Mr. Eden and M. Delbos insisted that the League was still the best instrument for international co-operation; the former said that the British Government were "determined to keep it in existence and to give it their full support." M. Micescu (Rumania) assured the Council that the Little Entente states were loyal to the League. The Polish declaration was less definite, but upheld the principle of co-operation for peace.

In the case of China's appeal to the League a resolution was drawn up, after

conferences between Dr. Koo (China), who wished the Council to recommend sanctions, and the delegates of Great Britain, France and Russia; it drew "the most serious attention" to the Assembly's resolution of October, 1937 (recommending individual aid to China), and trusted that Members specially interested would confer with other states similarly concerned as to the feasibility of a settlement. This text was adopted on February 2nd, Dr. Koo stipulating that the appeal should remain on the agenda, Poland and Peru abstaining.

On the same day the Council, satisfied with Hungary's proposals to her creditors, terminated the system of financial control established in 1931.

On January 31st, the Council met an objection raised by Turkey to the arrangements for the elections in the Sanjak of Alexandretta by naming a committee, representing France, Great Britain, Belgium, Sweden and Turkey, aided by Mr. Reid, chairman of the Elections Commission, to revise the regulations and fix a new date for the elections.

The petitions filed by the Jewish World Congress and other bodies appealing against certain anti-Jewish measures of the Rumanian Government, not having been treated as urgent, were referred by the competent sub-committee, under the normal procedure, to the Rumanian government for observations, and could not be examined during the session. The French and British governments, who are represented on the sub-committee, had already informed Rumania of their interest in the question as signatories of the treaty.

The Committee on the reform of the Covenant, which met on January 31st, was less occupied with the problem of the League's "universality," which Italy's departure had rendered less actual, than with the demand of a number of states that sanctions, under Article 16, should cease to be considered automatic. It should be recognised, said M. Unden (Sweden), that the League was no longer a coercive institution. On the other hand, M. Paul Boncour (France)—whose view was shared by M. Litvinoff (USSR)—contended that Article 16 was the keystone of the Covenant and must not be weakened; the League, he said, could still meet force with force. The debate showed that many states still held to the collective principle, that few desired a return to pre-war neutrality, and that the international situation was not favourable for changes—though the Chairman, M. Bourquin (Belgium), thought a decisive turning point was near. In these circumstances the Committee accepted Lord Cranborne's advice to postpone any positive action.

In the course of the debate the Swiss delegate informed the Committee that, in pursuance of M. Motta's statement on December 22nd, his government would shortly submit a memorandum, on which the League would be asked to pronounce, explaining the reasons which obliged Switzerland to seek a return to complete neutrality.

CENTRAL EUROPE

During an official visit to Germany (January 14th to 23rd), where he was most cordially received, Dr. Stoyadinovitch, the Yugo-Slav premier had conversations with Herr Hitler and his ministers, embracing—it was understood—the relations between Czechoslovakia and the other Little Entente States, and the Austrian question. On the other hand, it was semi-officially stated Dr. Stoyadinovitch was not pressed to join the Anti-Comintern Pact, to withdraw from the League, or to recognise General Franco's government. The German Press hailed the visit as a breach in Germany's encirclement, but for the most part dwelt on the economic benefits

of close relations between two states whose agriculture and industries could so well supplement each other. The Berlin correspondent of the *Temps* (January 23rd) noted, regretfully, that the Little Entente system, originally francophile, was being inverted to Germany's advantage.

GERMANY

A characteristic feature of the changes announced on February 4th in Berlin, was the creation of a new Cabinet Council to advise Herr Hitler on foreign policy. It consists of four naval and military members (Field-Marshal Goering, General Keitel, Admiral Raeder, and General Brauchitsch) and four civil members (Herr Hess, Dr. Goebbels, Herr von Ribbentrop, Dr. Lammers), with Baron von Neurath as President.

The changes were everywhere regarded as heralding an accentuation of the foreign policy based on the Rome Berlin axis ; the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (February 7th) discerned a difference of substance in the telegrams exchanged between Rome and Berlin. While Signor Mussolini's message looked for the strengthening of comradeship between the armed forces and regimes of the two countries—words suggestive of a military alliance—Herr Hitler's reply spoke only of cementing their political and ideological relations in the interests of peace. In Paris, opinions were divided as to whether Baron von Neurath's new appointment was chiefly honorary, or whether, as President of a council in which the Foreign Minister would have only one vote, he would retain a dominant influence on foreign policy.

UNITED STATES

President Roosevelt's message to Congress on January 28th asked for increases in arms expenditure of $160,000,000, owing to the national defences being inadequate for security. The naval additions required included two battleships, the tonnage of which was not named owing, it is understood, to lack of definite information as to whether the limits laid down in the Treaty of London of 1936 (to which Japan is not a party) were being exceeded in the Japanese naval programme. In view of persistent reports that this was the case, the Governments of Great Britain, France and the United States, after an exchange of views, presented notes, independently, on February 5th to the Japanese Government. The British note stated that, unless Japan could give an assurance, before February 20th, that she would not build or acquire ships exceeding the above-mentioned limits prior to 1943, Great Britain would resume her liberty of action ; though, if Japan desired to discuss higher limits, Great Britain would be ready to do so, but not later than April 1st. The French and American notes were similar in effect. Press telegrams from Tokio (February 9th) reported that the Japanese Cabinet had found the request for information unreasonable, as Japan was under no obligation to communicate her plans.

THE VAN ZEELAND REPORT

Mr. van Zeeland's report on the reduction of obstacles to trade, which was published on January 26th, though a technical document, raised questions of national policy which formed the basis of the first Press comments. In America it was pointed out that the granting of credits to defaulting States would involve the repeal of the Johnson Law ; in France it was remarked that credits, convertible into arms, would be given in exchange for moral guarantees ; in Italy it was questioned whether States which had made sacrifices for autarky would exchange it for a dubious international solidarity.

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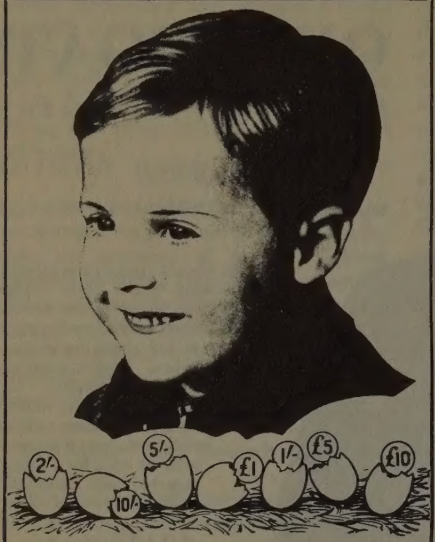

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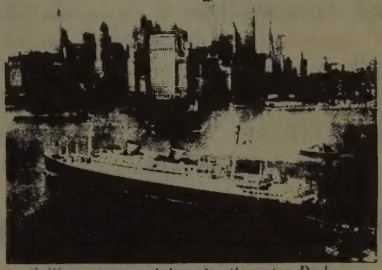

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